

Beijing Turmoil: More Than Meets the Eye

This is a detailed, authentic account of the entire course of the student unrest, turmoil and rebellion that occurred in Beijing and other parts of China between spring and summer in 1989 —some of it hitherto unknown to the public. It contains on-the-spot coverage of some of the happenings on Tiananmen Square and the streets of Beijing and interviews given by teachers and students on university campuses, while also plotting the development of the major events. It reveals the truth about the turbulence in Shanghai and the inside story of how political forces at home and abroad got embroiled in the turmoil....

A veteran journalist with 42 years' experience under his belt, the author, instead of considering each of the events as it stood, seeks to view and analyse it in its historical perspective and in light of the changing situation in the international political arena. He focuses on the lessons to be learnt and the future road China is to take.

Because he recounts his personal experience, the author makes clear his personal feelings, his loves and hates, his joy and sorrow. He is an intellectual who loves his country and as such he knows where he ought to stand. Therefore, instead of playing the "disinterested observer," he presents before an international audience an overview of the world-shocking political turmoil as seen through the eye of an ordinary Chinese.

Che Muqi

**BEIJING
TURMOIL**

**More Than
Meets the Eye**

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Preface

Once I heard a British anecdote: During the Victorian Age in England, there was a count who, out of favour, shut himself up in a lighthouse on a desolate island and dedicated himself to history writing. One day, a fight took place below the lighthouse, the count watching the whole fight from the lighthouse. The following day, one of his friends called on him and described to him the fight of the day before. To the count's surprise, what his friend described was diametrically opposed to what he saw. He sighed with emotion: "Our conclusions about one event of only yesterday that we both eyewitnessed are so widely divergent—then what hope is there to see clearly the history of thousands of years ago!" Upon this he set his manuscripts on fire.

This anecdote does impress us with how difficult it is to write history. But I disapprove of this English count's historical nihilism. It is natural that, due to different standpoints two people can come to opposite conclusions about one thing. However, historical facts are, after all, historical facts. No matter how they may have been covered up, distorted or adulterated, they will sooner or later be restored to their true features. An honest historian will at all times hold himself responsible to history, giving no thought to temporary loss or gain, honour or disgrace. Burning manuscripts can only manifest one's irresponsibility to historical truth.

Between the spring and summer of 1989, a world-shaking turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion took place in Beijing. Tens of thousands of students, teachers, scholars, journalists and government personnel, as well as ordinary people, went through the whole course and witnessed all the happenings. But, up till now, there probably has not been published a book which records the actual events of those 56 tumultuous days. It might be that time is still needed to complete such a book; or

that things are too complex to get them into shape; or that there are still doubts about certain questions; or that it is thought better to wait and see.... In the meantime, however, Western propagandists have been volubly telling wild tales, daubing variegated, bizarre colours on this perfectly clear picture of history.

It is against this background that Che Muqi contributes this booklet, *Beijing Turmoil: More Than Meets the Eye*. Not a historian but an "overage" journalist, Che Muqi has long been worn down by chronic disease and is no longer energetic. But he nonetheless bravely took up his pen to write down the historical truth that he believes should be made public. No one would ask him to write it down if he didn't, but if he did it, he would probably invite trouble upon himself. Finally, he did it, having only one motive: As a conscientious and principled news reporter, in the face of this significant, opinion-dividing historical event, he could not keep silent as that English count did, but instead was compelled to discharge his historical duty. Though fully aware that his tiny voice, in the midst of the deafening clamour, can not be loud enough to awaken the deaf, he is confident that the just voice cannot be overwhelmed, and that when history is given back its true features, this inconspicuous booklet will receive its deserved appraisal.

As a journalist and as a personal friend, I admire Che Muqi's courage and bravery. I also greatly appreciate his confidence in me—asking me to write a few words for this booklet. Short of words, I cannot but testify to one thing: All he says is true. And he speaks this truth not only in the current situation, but spoke it also during the 56 soul-stirring days—as in those times we often talked by phone or in person. This shows he is openhearted and responsible. What he says, I believe, will undoubtedly stand the test of time and history.

Fan Jingyi
March 22, 1990

1

Was It a Patriotic Democratic Movement or an Anti-government Turmoil?

Reflections on the General Secretary's Abnormal Behaviour

On the morning of May 19, Zhao Ziyang arrived at the Tiananmen Square to see the fasting students. He picked up a loudspeaker and spoke for some minutes, persuading the students to call off the hunger strike. On TV Zhao appeared to stammer incoherently, without his usual fluency and the manners becoming a Party and State leader.

Whilst I was thinking, I heard him say, "When we were young we had also lain on the rails without considering the consequences...." He caught himself and did not continue. I was startled, wondering, "Does he regret it?" How could he compare the young students, who protested against the Kuomintang (KMT) government's passive resistance against the Japanese invasion, with the students of today, who petitioned the People's Government by hunger-strike?

Now it is clear that when Zhao Ziyang talked to the students like this, he had already decided to separate himself from the Party Central Committee. That evening he did not attend the meeting of cadres held by the Party Central Committee to announce the stationing of martial law enforcement troops in Beijing, thus revealing, through the TV screen, his separatist attitude to the whole country and all over the world. It was not strange that he should forget himself in public when he sensed

the insecurity of his position. At a time like this a person is apt to reveal his inner thoughts.

I was startled by Zhao's words about "lying on the rails" because I myself had taken part in the student movement when I was young. I had demonstrated, collected donations, argued with a mayor of the KMT government, organized demonstrations and class-boycotts, and received instructions from underground Party leaders in "secret rooms." Because of my active role in the student movement, I was expelled from school and the KMT authorities issued a warrant for my arrest. I have never felt regretful about this. However, I was vigilant from the very beginning of the student unrest in spring 1989, and became decidedly opposed to it after it developed into turmoil. This led to arguments between myself and some of my good friends. They asked in perplexity, "Why should a former student-movement leader oppose the student movement?" "Times have changed," I replied.

To be more precise, the student movement in which we participated before Liberation was a patriotic democratic movement guided by the Communist Party of China against imperialism and KMT reactionaries. The present student movement, although some people tried by every possible means to crown it with the laurel of "patriotic democratic movement," demonstrated from the very beginning that it had mistaken its target when launching its attack. After the outcome of the struggle became apparent, its plotters and organizers Yan Jiaqi, Wan Runnan and Wuerkaixi fled to the United States and obsequiously begged their foreign masters to adopt "economic sanctions" against China. Doesn't this clearly demonstrate that they have no Chinese backbone?

The difference in essence is a crucial issue. If the student movement, plotted and organized by Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi and others, were indeed a "patriotic democratic movement," it would have been right for the people to express their support and wrong for the government to oppose and suppress it. If it was not a "patriotic democratic movement" but a rebellion against the People's Government, the conclusion would have to be reversed.

Let's observe and analyze the character of the student movement from the very beginning.

Launching the Attack on the Pretext of Mourning for Hu Yaobang

The whole world knows that the turbulence in Beijing began on April 15 with the appearance of the first wreath commemorating Hu Yaobang beneath the Monument to the People's Heroes in the Tiananmen Square. As soon as it broke out, the movement had strong political overtones, but had nothing to do with issues concerning the students' self-interest such as students' livelihood and school-management.

After Hu Yaobang's death was announced, many elegiac couplets, big- and small-character posters appeared in Beijing University, Qinghua University and Chinese People's University, advertising slogans with strong political overtones, in the name of mourning for Hu Yaobang. Immediately after the announcement by the Central Broadcasting Station on the afternoon of April 15, a couplet appeared in the Chinese People's University that ran as follows:

Lament Mr Hu, curse Mr Li, but better to overthrow Mr Deng.

Speak a thousand terms, argue ten thousand ways, but better to do away with the Four Rules.

Among various posters, this couplet divulged the secret, revealing that the mourning for Hu Yaobang was only a pretext, whilst the real purpose of the students' unrest was to bring down Deng Xiaoping, the general architect of China's reform and opening to the outside world. Why oppose Deng Xiaoping? The crux is that he has put forward the Four Cardinal Principles (upholding the leadership of the Communist Party of China, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, People's democratic dictatorship, and socialist road). Some people had a cutting hatred of these Four Principles and tried by every possible means to rid them from the Constitution. The crux of the problem lies in the elimination of the Four Principles. If the Party and government abandoned these principles, then the socialist People's Republic would change its political colour.

Why did the death of Hu Yaobang trigger off a political turbulence involving the subversion or protection of the socialist People's Republic?

The preparation for this political turbulence dated back a long way. It was contrived to break out on May 4, the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement. The death of Hu Yaobang provided the best opportunity for the conspirators and organizers; the time for the student unrest was brought forward, and Hu Yaobang's reputation among the young students was used to give impetus to the demonstrations.

Hu Yaobang enjoyed high prestige among the masses and the students. After he was reinstated in the Party Central Committee when the "cultural revolution" ended, he did a great deal of work that gained the commendation of the Party and the people. For example, he organized and directed the redressing of unjust, false, and mishandled cases with outstanding courage and resourcefulness, enabling many wronged and persecuted cadres and intellectuals to be rehabilitated. This won the support of the people. When he passed away suddenly, people mourned for him and the Party and government praised him highly.

However, no one is perfect. During his incumbency as General Secretary of the Party, Hu Yaobang also made mistakes, especially with regard to the inadequate opposition to bourgeois liberalization. He connived at those who insisted on building up capitalism in China. Because of this, he made a self-criticism and resigned from the post as Party General Secretary in January 1987, but he remained a member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee (Politburo) until his death. In the memorial speech it was said that "he put the interests of the Party and the people first.... He dared to insist on being correct; but when he was mistaken, he was brave in making self-criticism." This demonstrated that he had made mistakes but also positively confirmed his spirit of self-criticism. Thus it was appropriate to write of him like this in the memorial speech.

Those who tried to stir up turbulence took advantage of people's remembrance for Hu Yaobang and accused the Party Central Committee of improper arrangement of Hu Yaobang's resignation, and started a rumour that Hu Yaobang was enraged to death by Li Peng in a Politburo meeting. They brazenly demanded: 1. Reappraisal of Hu Yaobang's merits and mistakes; 2. Complete negation of the movement against bourgeois liberalization and rehabilitation of the so-called "citizens who had suffered unredressed injustices" during this movement.

These two points constituted the main part of the demands put to the government by student leader Wang Dan at the beginning of the student unrest; a few intellectuals also elaborated these two terms to mould public opinion.

On April 19 a meeting was held by Ge Yang, editor-in-chief of the *New Observer*, and attended by Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi (research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and others. The basic issue of their discussion was also the "rehabilitation" of Hu Yaobang and the negation of the anti-bourgeois liberalization struggle.

Why did they focus on these two points in the struggle? Because these two points were concerned with Hu Yaobang and at the same time opposed to the Four Cardinal Principles, which Deng Xiaoping has always upheld, thus turning the activities commemorating Hu Yaobang into a student unrest with strong political overtones. Their methods were quite ingenious and vicious.

Of these two demands, the reappraisal of Hu Yaobang is unreasonable, because the Party Central Committee's memorial speech declared him "a long-tried loyal communist fighter, great proletarian revolutionary and statesman, outstanding political worker of our army, prominent leader who had assumed a leading post in the Party for a long time"; this appraisal is high enough. The Party Central Committee's memorial speech for Zhou Enlai described this great man, who was respected both at home and abroad, as "an exemplary member of the Communist Party of China, great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people, loyal revolutionary fighter of the Chinese people, and long-tried prominent leader of the Party and the state." In comparison, the appraisal of Hu Yaobang cannot be more favourable. Therefore, the first of the demands made by the organizers of the student unrest was primarily intended to instigate the masses against the government, whilst their true demand lay in the second item, which was the complete negation of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization.

"Bourgeois liberalization means the negation of the socialist system and the advocacy of the capitalist system." This is the definition of bourgeois liberalization given in the *Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Guidelines for the Construction of a Socialist Spiritual Civilization*. There was an argument as to

whether this sentence should be put into the decision. When the draft was put to the vote, a Central Committee member raised opposition on the spot. Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a very important speech at the plenary session about this issue. To re-read the speech in connection with the present struggle is enlightening.

He said, "With regard to the question of opposing bourgeois liberalization, I am the one who has talked about it most often and most insistently. Why? Firstly, because there is now a trend of thought which represents liberalization among the masses, especially among the young people. Secondly, because this trend has found support from the sidelines. For example, there have been some comments from people in Hong Kong and Taiwan who are all opposed to our Four Cardinal Principles and who think we should introduce the capitalist system lock, stock and barrel, as if that were the only genuine modernization. What in fact is this liberalization? It is an attempt to turn China's present policies in the direction of capitalism. The exponents of this trend are trying to lead us towards capitalism. That is why I have explained time and again that our modernization programme is a socialist one. Our decision to apply the open policy and assimilate useful things from capitalist societies was made only as a means of furthering the development of our socialist productive forces."

"It seems to me that the struggle against liberalization will have to be carried on not only currently, but for the next ten or twenty years. If we fail to check this trend, it will merge with undesirable foreign things that will inevitably find their way into China because of our open policy and become a battering ram used against our modernization programme. This is something we cannot afford to ignore. If you have read some of the comments that have been made by people in Hong Kong and by bourgeois scholars in foreign countries, you will see that most of them insist that we should liberalize, or say that there are no human rights in China. These commentators oppose the very things we believe in and hope that we will change fundamentally. But we shall continue to raise problems and solve them in the light of the realities in China."

This important speech was given by Deng Xiaoping on September 28, 1986. The meeting was presided over by General

Secretary Hu Yaobang. He did not attach great importance to Deng Xiaoping's speech and did not have it publicized or relayed to lower levels. Especially at the time when he presided over the work of the Party Central Committee, the struggle against bourgeois liberalization was not conducted efficiently. Therefore, after the students in Beijing and Shanghai made trouble at the end of 1986, he recognized his error and handed in his resignation. On January 28, 1987, the Party Central Committee issued a *Circular on Problems of the Present Struggle Against Bourgeois Liberalization*, calling for a struggle against bourgeois liberalization within the Party. In January of the same year, representative advocates of bourgeois liberalization such as Wang Ruowang (writer), Fang Lizhi (research fellow) and Liu Binyan (writer) were expelled from the Party.

Looking back on the events between 1986 and 1987, we can see more clearly why the organizers of the students' unrest such as Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi and Wang Dan utterly detest "anti-bourgeois liberalization" and used it as a breach to achieve their purpose of fermenting turmoil.

The so-called bourgeois liberalization is in essence an ideological trend worshipping the "democracy" and "liberty" of Western capitalist countries and opposing socialism. In other words, it advocates the total Westernization of China and the capitalist road. Thus combating bourgeois liberalization and upholding the Four Cardinal Principles of socialism represent two aspects of the same thing. Those who uphold the Four Cardinal Principles are bound to oppose bourgeois liberalization, and those who insist on bourgeois liberalization are bound to oppose the Four Cardinal Principles.

As early as 1986 Fang Lizhi said clearly, "China has nothing that is not backward; it should open in all directions or become totally Westernized.... My all-direction concept is to allow advanced cultures to pound at China from all angles. The pounding can come from every side, including economics, knowledge, political systems, ideology, and ethics. But you should not decide in advance which is best or that the Four Principles must be upheld. I don't see any point in upholding this or that."

Therefore it is very clear that when Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi, Wang Dan and others demanded the negation of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization and the rehabilitation of the

so-called "citizens with unrighted wrongs," their real target of attack was the Four Cardinal Principles. As soon as the student unrest broke out, many big-character posters openly denounced the Four Cardinal Principles; the couplet that appeared on April 15 was the most straightforward one. As a result, the turbulence manifested at the very beginning the acute contradiction between bourgeois liberalization and the Four Cardinal Principles.

What did the April 27 Demonstration Signify?

From Hu Yaobang's death on April 15 to the completion of his funeral arrangements on April 22, the students seized the opportunity to make trouble. This consisted not only of numerous big- and small-character posters, incessant demonstrations, the spread of class-boycott, and the storming of Zhongnanhai, the State Council seat, but also of the gathering of a hundred thousand people outside the Great Hall of the People where the memorial meeting was held to ferment disturbance. The development of the situation became more and more worrying. On April 26 the *People's Daily* published a timely editorial entitled "Take a Clear-Cut Stand Against Turmoil," clearly pointing out that this was a political turmoil.

It later became known that this editorial reflected the opinion of the members of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee Politburo and Deng Xiaoping towards the student unrest. On the night of April 24, Li Peng presided over a meeting of the members of the Politburo Standing Committee to analyze and discuss the situation. The next morning Deng Xiaoping agreed to the analysis and decision of the Standing Committee, pointing out that this was not an ordinary student unrest but a political turmoil, aimed at negating the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system.

When the editorial was published, the students misunderstood it and thought that the government was accusing the students of creating turmoil, whilst what it in fact said was that a handful of people were making use of the students to stir up turmoil. But this handful of people had understood it. Now that the government had drawn attention to their true anti-Party, anti-socialist nature, they changed their slogans strategically and

toned down their political tune in order to win over the masses.

On April 27, thirty thousand Beijing college students launched a "successful" demonstration.

When I went to work that morning, I saw many public-security personnel at major crossroads. Although they were all bare-handed without even police truncheons, I felt a tense atmosphere. I heard that the day before the university leaders and teachers had all tried to persuade the students not to take to the streets; I secretly hoped that they would be persuaded and would not go out onto the streets so as to prevent a clash with the police.

Sitting in my office, I was unable to calm down since I was worried about a possible clash between the students and the police which would only serve to exacerbate the situation. Later on, I heard noises coming from the street and could not help walking to the gate to watch. I saw rows of policemen blocking the street corner, but when the students arrived and charged at the police, they could not bear the weight and gave way without fighting. The contingents of marchers were very well organized, with pickets joined hand in hand to maintain order. What surprised me was the consistency of the slogans, including "Support the Communist Party," "Support socialism," "Oppose Corruption," and "Down with official profiteering."

The April 27 student demonstration was undoubtedly a "great success" for its plotters and organizers. With false slogans, it gained the sympathy and recognition of vast numbers of students and Beijing residents. I heard some colleagues say, "Look, how lovely the students are! They have shouted out slogans against official profiteering and corruption. We have made criticisms time and again to no avail; now that this students' agitation has taken place, the government should pay attention at last!"

I did not agree to their naïve view and advised them not to view the problem so simply. The change and toning down of the demonstrators' slogans revealed that there must be something more behind all this. Firstly, the change and toning down of the slogans represented a change in strategy in order to win over large numbers of masses. Once the masses were on their side, they could continue to stir up trouble, intensify the political tone of the slogans and incite the masses into further confron-

tation with the government. Secondly, the toning down of the slogans indicated that behind the students there were backstage manipulators who knew how to stage a mass movement for maximum effect.

My colleagues were not convinced by my words and said, "Can you point out who is plotting behind the scenes?" I replied, "According to the laws of mass movements, this kind of change definitely testifies to the fact that there are some wise people behind the scenes. Wait and you will see who they are!"

Later, a letter from a Beijing University student, published in the *Beijing Daily* on June 16, revealed the inside story: "On April 26, we were all dumbfounded by the *People's Daily* editorial. Wang Dan hastily returned from Li Shuxian's (wife of Fang Lizhi and an associate professor of the Physics Department of Beijing University) place and said that we must change the strategy of our struggle and mobilize the masses to fight along with us. He hurriedly took part in the meeting, at which it was decided to change slogans."

Thus, after the publication of the *People's Daily* editorial on April 26, Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian guided Wang Dan to issue "The First Command of the New Students' Association," stipulating that On April 27 the students should "march to the Tiananmen Square under the banner of supporting the Communist Party." At Fang and Li's suggestion, the subversive slogans such as "Down with the bureaucratic government," "Down with the corrupt government" and "Down with autocratic rule" were changed into slogans supported by masses from all circles, such as "Oppose bureaucrats, oppose corruption, oppose privileges."

I learned later that as early as April 21 when the turbulence was just beginning to take shape, a poster appeared in both Beijing University and Chinese People's University entitled "It Turned Out To Be a Trick," signed by "a sober person from Beijing University." According to this student, Li Shuxian and others proposed four steps for the movement: Firstly, mourn for Hu Yaobang and seize the chance to put forward our political demands. The masses hate corruption, do not denounce the Four Principles directly but use this (corruption) to attack them. Secondly, start a sit-in at Xinhua Gate (gate to the State Council), and storm it when necessary. If the police dare to intervene, that means they will beat people; only then can we win sympathy,

especially the girl students, who have soft hearts. If we say that the police beat only girl students, this will arouse the "sense of manliness" in the boy students. Thirdly, ask to participate in the memorial meeting. Many people have the same wish, so the event can be magnified and extended to the whole country. Fourthly, the climax will be reached on May 4.

The subsequent developments were just as Fang Lizhi, Li Shuxian and their accomplices had planned, except that there was no climax on May 4; later, therefore, the hunger strike was organized.

The Slogans Against Corruption Were Only a Pretense

Before April 27, the slogans which appeared on campuses and were used by the demonstrators, such as "Abolish the Four Cardinal Principles"; "Completely negate anti-bourgeois liberalization"; "He who should live has died, but he who should die lives on"; "Dismiss the incompetent government, overthrow the autocrat"; and "Abolish the Communist Party, establish a multi-party system," reflected the true intentions of the plotters of the student unrest but failed to arouse much response or consensus from the masses. On April 27, they changed their strategy and put forward slogans with "Oppose official profiteering, oppose corruption, oppose bureaucrats" as the keynote, which immediately appealed to the common aspirations of the people.

Many good-hearted people sympathized with the students just because this demonstration used the slogans of "Oppose official profiteering, oppose corruption, oppose bureaucrats." Actually, the Party and the government had pointed out from the very beginning that these slogans and demands conformed to what they advocated. The students did not use these slogans after May 4.

The April 26 *People's Daily* editorial points out: "The mass of students sincerely hope to overcome corruption and promote democracy, which is in line with the hopes of the Party and the government...."

When Li Peng met representatives of the striking students on May 18, he said, "We have been affirming the students' patriotic

enthusiasm, and many things you've done are right. Many questions you have raised are just the issues that the government hopes to deal with. Frankly speaking, you have actually helped the government to a certain degree in its efforts towards solving these problems."

At the meeting of cadres from the Party, government and army organs on May 19, Li Peng said more clearly, "We shall give a definite reply to the demands put forward by the students. We shall listen to and accept their reasonable criticism and proposals such as punishing official profiteers, overcoming corruption, and getting rid of bureaucracy, so as to improve the work of the Party and the government."

On May 21, in a letter to Beijing residents, the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops pointed out: "The enforcement of martial law aims only at maintaining security in the capital and restoring order. It is not directed at the patriotic students.... The People's Liberation Army definitely support the demands of the masses to punish 'official profiteers,' oppose corruption, and promote socialist democracy and law. It is in order to create a social environment in which we can realize these demands, that we are enforcing martial law to restore social order in the capital."

On June 6, after the riot was put down, State Council spokesman Yuan Mu still said at a press conference, "The government will seriously consider the suggestions put forward by people of various circles, including young students, on punishing official profiteers, overcoming corruption, promoting democracy and other issues, and is open to suggestions from people from all walks of life through dialogues."

The government has always expressed consent and acceptance of the demands of the mass of young students such as punishing official profiteers, overcoming corruption and promoting socialist democracy, so why had there been class boycotts, a hunger strike, sit-ins, demonstrations, the occupation of the Tiananmen Square, the storming of Zhongnanhai and Xinhuaamen, in wave upon wave, creating more and more confusion and putting bigger and bigger pressure on the government? This indicated that their true intention all along did not lie there, but that they had other motives.

Some People of the *People's Daily* Opposed the April 26 Editorial

Attitude towards the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial was for a long time the touchstone of whether one was on the side of the government or on that of the students. Those who opposed the editorial regarded the student unrest as "a great patriotic democratic movement," whereas those who supported it thought that the student unrest had developed into political turmoil. These two completely different viewpoints were diametrically opposed to each other.

A brief incident I experienced personally demonstrated how intense the confrontation was.

On the sixth day of the hunger strike at Tiananmen Square, there appeared on the front page in the May 18 *People's Daily* a bold headline: "Over a Million People in the Capital Demonstrated to Express Their Support for the Striking University Students," "Strongly Demand Immediate Dialogue to Save Lives and the Country." On the second page a large photo showed a contingent of demonstrators with a banner that identified them as reporters of the *People's Daily*, carrying a slogan "Oppose the April 26 Editorial." I was astonished when I saw it. Had the *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the Party Central Committee, changed its coat? I could not help flying into a rage. My son was a lecturer at the Beijing Broadcasting College; he was also furious at the abnormal behaviour of the *People's Daily* and walked up and down the room. He suddenly said, "Question them by telephone!" I immediately agreed. "Good! See what they have to say!"

Why were we so worried and angry? We felt relieved when the demonstration of thirty thousand students on April 27 did not result in conflict. We thought the dialogue on April 29 between State Council spokesman Yuan Mu and forty college students had produced a very good effect. The number of demonstrators on May 4 was vastly less than that on April 27, and at the end of the parade the students declared that they would resume classes. Later, about eighty percent of the boycotting students resumed class and the situation took a favourable turn. We supported the government's effort during this period to

promote dialogue, but the students deliberately set up obstacles, creating difficulties in the choice of government officials for the dialogue and the manner of selection of the student representatives, whilst blaming the government for postponing the dialogue.

They suddenly declared a hunger strike on May 13 and occupied Tiananmen Square, seeking to stir up trouble in Beijing during Gorbachev's visit and cause the Chinese Government to lose face. After the students went on the hunger strike, some leading figures in the press, intellectual and cultural circles took the field in person, demonstrating to express their support. The *People's Daily*, on the pretext of objectively reporting the student unrest, took the stand of actively supporting the hunger strike and published one article after another about demonstrations of people from various circles in support of the students, with the result that at the time, people mistakenly believed that the Party and the government supported the striking students, and got the impression that not going out onto the streets could be equated with "not loving the country," and not expressing support meant that one was a "cold-blooded animal."

At this critical juncture, the *People's Daily* lost its political stand and went over to the side of those who were against the government, producing a very bad influence. I felt sure that one could no longer discover the opinion of the Party Central Committee in this official newspaper of the Party Central Committee. The May 18 issue of the *People's Daily* was very incitive. Even some reporters of the *People's Daily* went out to support the hunger strikers, so let us all go out onto the streets! This is why both my son and I burst into a rage after reading it.

My son dialled the general editing office of the *People's Daily*, and a young man answered the phone. Following is their tit-for-tat dialogue on the telephone.

"I've been a reader of your newspaper for over ten years. I would like to ask if the *People's Daily* is still the official newspaper of the Party Central Committee."

The young man was surprised but responded quickly, "Of course it is."

"Since it is still the official newspaper of the Party Central Committee, why doesn't it communicate the voice of the Party Central Committee? Can you say the front-page headline and

the photo of demonstrating reporters from your newspaper reflect the intentions of the Party Central Committee?"

The man evaded this sharp question and asked, "What do you think of the April 26 editorial?"

"I think it is correct, because the development of the situation has proved that the turmoil of which the editorial forewarned has really happened!"

"I dare not say that I agree with you. It is the first time that I've heard this kind of opinion!" Pay attention! A person at the *People's Daily* general editing office has openly denounced the *People's Daily* editorial on April 26.

My son quickly fought back: "That is your fortune! Don't think the city of Beijing is of one voice. I am also a young college lecturer, and some of my colleagues oppose the hunger strike just as I do and oppose even more your support for it. Your irresponsible support is undoubtedly pushing the students towards death!"

"May I ask which college you are from?"

"That is of no importance. I tell you, I will preserve this newspaper and history will prove that you are wrong!"

We support the April 26 editorial because it clearly pointed out that the student unrest had developed into political turmoil. We feel deeply that the ten years' turmoil of the "cultural revolution" has widened the gap between China and the advanced countries of the world, and we feel that the most important issue for China today is to maintain political stability so as to carry out construction and improve people's lives. Whoever creates turmoil should be regarded as a national criminal.

The Change of Slogans Revealed Clear Intentions

Whether this turbulence can be viewed as a patriotic movement or as political turmoil may be decided according to its slogans, activities and the kind of political control and influence it received.

In the previous chapter we have already mentioned the slogans raised by the students in the early period of the student movement. After the publishing of the April 26 editorial of the

People's Daily they changed their main slogan to "opposing corruption, official profiteers and bureaucracy." But this slogan did not represent the instigators' real intentions, rather they served as a foil.

After May 4, they did not even mention this slogan and made two demands of the government: the first was for the government to negate the April 26 editorial and admit that the students' movement was a great patriotic movement. The second was for the government to recognize those mass organizations which had come into being during the student movement.

To tell the truth, at that time, I worried that the government would make concessions on these two questions. It was obvious that if the April 26 editorial was negated it would mean that the illegal actions of the students, incited by a few people, were legal. If this was so, how could the government continue to lead the country and manage state affairs, since the illegal organizations of the Autonomous Union of University Students and the Autonomous Union of Workers represented those political forces which were against the present government.

The Autonomous Union of University Students grew out of the Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union of Beijing University. In the evening of April 19, Wang Dan presided over the sixteenth democratic salon and passed on the opinions of Jin Guantao (senior research fellow of the Chinese Academy of Sciences), an idol of the students: "The unorganized strength of the students should be organized to shake and destroy the existing organization of the Chinese Communist Party." The Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union of Beijing University was established then and there. The second day the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee called a meeting, joined by more than 300 students from universities and colleges in Beijing, to discuss the setting up of a union of university students. On April 23, a temporary union of university students of Beijing was established and on April 28, the Autonomous Union of University Students was formally named.

The Autonomous Union of University Students had a clear political programme from its very inception. Its short-term aim was to establish a temporary government with representatives from the Autonomous Union of University Students and all

circles of society; and its ultimate goal was to establish a Western-style bourgeois republic.

The Autonomous Union of University Students represented the embryonic form of an opposition party. If it had been accepted, it would have meant that an opposition party was legal.

After martial law was imposed on some sections of Beijing on May 20, the students' slogans were concentrated on: "Down with the bogus government of Li Peng." They called the government, approved by the National People's Congress according to the Constitution, and headed by Premier Li Peng, a bogus government and wanted to overthrow it. So it is obvious that they wanted to subvert the present legal government.

On June 17, the *People's Daily* published an article, written by a university student in Beijing, which exposed the ultimate goal of the turbulence headed by leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students. "I asked Wang Dan what their ultimate goal was. He answered that their minimum goal was to have the government accept the Autonomous Union of University Students, rehabilitate Fang Lizhi and allow mass-run newspapers, and their maximum goal was to establish 'pluralistic politics' and 'elite politics.' I asked him whether he still wanted to oppose official profiteers. He said that that was not so important."

Wang Dan published an article entitled "China—Students Will Fight to the End for Democracy" in the New York-based Chinese newspaper *World Herald* (May 17) in which he made even clearer what he was after. He said, "We will not conceal the fact that we maintain different political views from the government. We publicly declare that we advocate freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press, and that our long-term aim is to establish a Western-style political system and get rid of outmoded political ideology.... I think the present student movement at least has the effect of supporting the dissidents."

So if we analyze the slogans throughout the whole course of the student movement, we can say that the ultimate goal of the organizers and instigators of the students' movement was very clear. This was to overthrow the socialist people's republic led by the Communist Party and establish a Western-style bourgeois

republic. In one word, they wanted to subvert the present government.

Violating the Legal System

In order to achieve their political purpose, they did not adopt the peaceful and democratic means which they declared, but on the contrary, they violated the Constitution, law and regulations of the state through their actions. They shouted slogans calling for democracy, whilst they themselves opposed democracy and the legal system.

—The many big-character posters which appeared on the campuses were illegal. Big-character posters were popular during the “cultural revolution” because the Constitution at that time stipulated that citizens had the right to write big-character posters. But owing to the bad effects caused by the big-character posters during those 10 chaotic years, this article of the Constitution was cancelled. For example, the writer of a big-character poster could attack by name whomever he wanted without being held legally accountable for this. So the stipulations giving citizens the right “to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters,” in Article 45 of the previous Constitution, were cancelled by a resolution adopted at the Third Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress on September 10, 1980.

—The unapproved demonstrations were illegal. During the period of the student unrest and turmoil, from April 17 to May 19, more than 13 demonstrations, large and small, were held in the 33 days in Beijing—averaging one in less than three days, seriously disrupting people’s normal life and work. In order to guarantee the stability of society, each country has its own regulations on demonstrations. The Standing Committee of the Beijing People’s Congress issued 10 stipulations on demonstrations in 1987, which said that demonstrations have to be approved beforehand. All the above-mentioned demonstrations violated the 10 stipulations. After the imposition of martial law in some sections of Beijing on May 20, the demonstrations directly violated the declaration of martial law.

—The students occupied Tiananmen Square over a long

period of time and tried to break through the gates of Zhongnanhai (where the State Council is located), the Great Hall of the People, the Ministry of Public Security and the broadcasting and television departments and sabotaged the summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and China. Everybody knew that all these activities were illegal.

Various Reactionary Political Forces Were Involved

It was not only the students who made trouble, but various internal and external political forces also joined in this event.

The direct organizers and instigators were Wang Dan, Chai Ling, Wuerkaixi and the other leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students, who were centre-stage. They had close relations with domestic reactionary forces, worshipped the West and harboured political ambitions. They were just the same as the leaders of the Red Guards during the "cultural revolution."

In this event, there were not only liberal persons in intellectual circles, such as Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi, Wan Runnan and Li Shuxian, who gave counsel to the students, but also "young officials" from the "brain-trust" of Zhao Ziyang, who knew a lot of secrets concerning the Party Central Committee and gave directions to the students. The latter group was headed by Bao Tong, former secretary of Zhao Ziyang. In addition, overseas political forces also joined in from the very beginning of the event.

The Chinese Alliance for Democracy, based in the United States and maintained by the Kuomintang, issued at the beginning of the student unrest an "Open Letter to Chinese University Students" from New York, which was posted up in the Triangular Area of Beijing University on April 26. In the tone of a "mentor," it called upon the students to pay attention to "consolidating the organizational links established during this movement," "making a breakthrough by negating the anti-liberalization movement of 1987," "strengthening contacts with various press media," and "strengthening contacts with all sectors of society in order to win their support and participation in the movement." The leaders of the Autonomous Union of

University Students readily understood what they meant, and their actions from then on followed more or less the path pointed out to them by the Chinese Alliance for Democracy.

On April 27, Liu Xiaobo (former teacher of Beijing Teachers' University), a member of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, was sent back to Beijing from New York. He worked together with the leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students as soon as he got back. He not only drafted declarations and programmes but also counselled the student leaders. Finally, when he failed to organize a hunger strike by 1,000-5,000 intellectuals, he went on a time-limited hunger strike with three other persons.

Reactionary forces in Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States and some other Western countries also intervened through various channels. Here are two examples:

Firstly, the hunger-striking and sit-in demonstrators in Tiananmen Square spent about 100,000 yuan each day, which was mainly donated by some people from the United States, Hong Kong and Taiwan. The Taiwan authorities openly organized support by all circles for the turmoil. Chiang Wei-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, initiated "Sending a Loving Heart to Tiananmen" and took the lead in donating NT\$ 100,000. Li Changyi, member of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, started a donation movement for NT\$ 100 million to set up the "Foundation for Supporting the Democratic Movement on the Mainland." Some people in Hong Kong collected donations from among the citizens in the name of supporting the hunger strike and declared the amassing of HK\$ 30 million, which were taken to Beijing in batches. On May 28, for example, the "Hong Kong Support Group" came to Beijing and delivered US\$ 650,000 and HK\$ 2 million to the students at Tiananmen Square. The reactionary forces overseas provided them not only with a large amount of money, but all kinds of material and equipment, such as walkie-talkies, broadcasting equipment and tents, to back up the students in fighting a "protracted war." The donations totalled more than a million US dollars and tens of millions of Hong Kong dollars.

Secondly, after the suppression of the rebellion, Yan Jiaqi, Wuerkaixi, Wan Runnan and some others fled from China by a route which had been planned beforehand by some people in

Hong Kong and Taiwan. They are now sheltered by some people in France, the United States and Hong Kong to continue their activities abroad against the Chinese government. So, from this we can clearly see that the overseas reactionary forces have also participated in the event.

From an analysis of its entire process, its slogans and demands and the means it had adopted, I am convinced that the student movement which began in April was not a patriotic movement, but political turmoil with a distinct, reactionary, political aim. It violated the principles of democracy and the Chinese legal system and was controlled by various reactionary forces both at home and abroad. The April 26 editorial of the *People's Daily* was correct in determining the turbulent character of the student movement.

2

Why Was Bloodshed Inevitable?

Suppression of the Counter-revolutionary Rebellion Was China's Internal Affair

In order to safeguard social stability and state power, any country and government has the right to suppress by any means activity aimed at overthrowing the government.

Many people of insight around the world agree to China's policy of suppressing the counter-revolutionary rebellion. Some of these expressed their understanding and sympathy. Others believed it was China's internal affair and foreign countries therefore had no right to interfere.

However, the United States and some Western European countries wantonly interfered in China's internal affairs. Their actions transgressed all common sense. I do not intend to comment on them here.

Some others, who have a feeling of friendship towards China, do not understand why China used troops to quell the incident. A friend said to me, "Couldn't China have quelled the incident using peaceful means? Why couldn't the government have made some necessary concessions to the students' demands so as to avoid intensifying the struggle?" I would like to say what I think.

I was in Beijing from the very beginning of the incident. I observed the incident day and night, always concerned about the students, while at the same time, I understood the difficult predicament which the government was in. The government desired to mitigate this contradiction and solve the problem

through peaceful means. But in the final event, it was forced to use troops.

First Petition—Assaulting Zhongnanhai

Looking back over the development of the incident we can see that in order to avoid hurting students who had engaged in activities impermissible to the state, at the instigation of scoundrels, the government repeatedly exercised restraint. But the students continued to press forward, fermented disturbance and escalated the incident.

The behaviour of Wang Dan, the students' leader, at the very beginning of the unrest, is a good example of this.

In the early morning of April 18, Wang Dan led a group of students to the Great Hall of the People and demanded to present a petition to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Wang and some others were led into the Hall at eight o'clock. A responsible comrade listened to their demands and received the petition.

But Wang Dan and others thought of another trick. They demanded to have a dialogue with the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In order to bring pressure to bear on the government, at three o'clock that afternoon, they incited students to assault the Great Hall of the People.

At five o'clock the reception personnel told them that three members of the NPC Standing Committee would hold a dialogue with them. But Wang Dan changed his mind. He said that no dialogue was necessary and demanded that deputies of the NPC receive their petition at 7:50 that evening instead, at the gate to the Great Hall of the People. He said that if this demand was met they would not ask for more.

Three deputies of the NPC received their petition at the designated time. A delegation of foreign reporters who were previously informed of the event, photographed the scene. They got the publicity they wanted, but things did not end there.

Next, Wang Dan led people to the Xinhua Gate of Zhongnanhai to create disturbance. More than 2,000 people gathered in front of Xinhua Gate, blocking Chang'an Avenue, Beijing's main artery of traffic. They assaulted Xinhua Gate every half an hour, wounding guards. The incident lasted

from the evening of April 18 until early in the morning of the next day.

At 4:20 a.m. on April 19, the Beijing Municipal Government made an announcement over loudspeakers saying that assaulting Party and government offices was against the law and thus asked people to leave the place. With the persuasion of the office staff and policemen, the crowd gradually dispersed.

But things did not end there either.

From the evening of April 19 to the early morning of April 20, at the instigation of Wang Dan and others, hundreds of students assaulted Xinhua Gate. Some people made incitive speeches. Others hurled bricks and soft-drink bottles at policemen, wounding four. The situation escalated. The policemen exercised restraint. They tried to persuade the students to leave. More than 200 students created a disturbance until early the next day when the government forced them into buses and sent them back to school. No one was arrested or detained.

The next day a rumour spread in the city that policemen had beaten the students; that many people had been knocked down in the bloodshed. They fabricated the "April 20 bloodshed" rumour.

Using the Hunger-Strike as a Means of Coercion

Between May 15 and 18, Mikhail Gorbachev visited China and held talks with Chinese leaders. This event attracted the whole world's attention. According to the original schedule, the welcoming ceremony was to be held in Tiananmen Square and Gorbachev was to lay a wreath on the Monument to the People's Heroes in the square. But, since the students who occupied the square turned a deaf ear to the advice of the government and people from all walks of life, and refused to withdraw, the schedule had to be changed. And for the same reason, the meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping was delayed for two hours.

But still the Chinese government did not force the students to withdraw from the square. Nor did they arrest students. During these days I was incensed by the students' behaviour. They had put the government in an awkward position. Now it

was clear that the bad student leaders had deliberately chosen Gorbachev's visit as the day for the commencement of the hunger strike in order to ridicule the Chinese government.

The hunger strike challenged the government. However, the government ordered Beijing Municipality to protect the student hunger strikers and ensure that no students die as a result of the hunger strike. Beijing Municipal Government, through the Red Cross, assigned more than 10,000 doctors and nurses and over 100 ambulances to the square to care for the students. Two thousand beds in 52 hospitals were emptied so that hunger strikers, who might be suffering from shock or other illnesses related to their fast, could be treated in time.

To keep the square clean, makeshift lavatories were set up. Sanitary workers gave the square a good cleaning at night. Rain was forecast on May 18. Seventy-eight buses were assigned to provide shelter for the hunger strikers. But concessions and the consideration shown on the part of the government did not result in any positive reaction from the students.

The hunger strikers' demand was that the government hold a dialogue with them. A big banner at the square read, "Hunger strike and class boycott. We demand a dialogue." People who did not know the truth thought that if the government had met these demands, everything would have been fine. People from all walks of life who supported the hunger strikers also asked the government to hold a dialogue with the students. For a time it was public opinion that the government had delayed the dialogue, was indifferent to the fate of the students and was "inhumane."

The truth was different. From the beginning the government had adopted a positive attitude towards holding a dialogue. At two o'clock on May 13 representatives of the Autonomous Union of University Students had put forward their demand for a dialogue. At four o'clock the Central Committee's general office and the State Council's general office had agreed. But after daybreak the student representatives changed their mind and the dialogue was cancelled. On the morning of May 13, the general office of the Party Central Committee and the Bureau for Letters and Visits of the Standing Committee of the NPC, told them once again that a dialogue would be held on May 15. They agreed. First they proposed a list of 20 persons. After the

government agreed, they demanded that the list be increased to 200 persons. Before the government had had a full discussion about it, they complained that "the government was insincere with regard to holding a dialogue." Only four hours after they had received the notice of holding a dialogue, they started the hunger strike to protest at the government's "delay" in holding the dialogue. Actually they had already taken the decision to hold the hunger strike on May 11. Asking the government to hold a dialogue was therefore a ruse to whip up public opinion.

Desire for Negotiation, Not Dialogue

Although the leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students wilfully made trouble, the government still sought to hold dialogues with them through different channels.

In the early morning of May 14, Politburo members Li Tieying and Li Ximing, and State Councillor and Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong went to Tiananmen Square and tried to persuade the students to go back to their universities and answered many of their questions. This was actually a dialogue. On the afternoon of May 14 Li Tieying, Yan Mingfu, member of the CPC Secretariat, and Wei Jianxing, Minister for Supervision, held a sincere dialogue with representatives from more than 30 universities, including representatives of the hunger strikers. The dialogue continued for three hours the next day.

At five o'clock in the morning of May 18, as soon as they had finished Sino-Soviet talks, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee went to the hospital to see hunger strikers and talked with them. In the morning Li Peng, Li Tieying, Li Ximing, Yan Mingfu and Chen Xitong met with representatives of the hunger strikers—Wang Dan, Wuerkaixi and others, in the Great Hall of the People. They listened to the suggestions and demands of the students and explained the opinion of the Party and government. Was this a "dialogue of the highest level"? Wuerkaixi claimed, "This is not a dialogue. It's a meeting."

Then what is meant by a dialogue? On May 2, the Autonomous Union of University Students presented 12 demands for the dialogue. To cite a few: "Both parties should have the same

opportunity to speak"; "The dialogue should be held in places designated by both parties in turn"; and in order to guarantee the legality of the dialogue, "both parties should issue a joint communique and sign it"; etc.

Demanding such harsh terms, they considered themselves as the opposition, and wanted to negotiate with the government. How could this be called a "dialogue"? On May 2, a big-character poster was put up in Qinghua University entitled: "To the Negotiation Table." It said, "We will go to the negotiation table; not the dialogue table." The people who engineered the turmoil used dialogue as a pretext to confuse people, ferment disturbance and pressurize the government into negotiating with them and making concessions, to enable them to reach their political aims. Wang Dan published an article in the United States, saying, "We shall establish a Western-style political system and get rid of the outmoded political ideology." Although the government made concessions, they would not stop until they had reached their goal.

The Occupation of Tiananmen Square

Since the hunger strikers occupied Tiananmen Square on May 13, the situation in Beijing, as well as the country as a whole, deteriorated. The government had no choice but to take strong measures.

People behind the scenes were so sinister that they had used the hunger strike to deepen the turmoil. In mid-April, someone said to Wang Dan, "Hunger striking can be used. Start a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. The students will fall down one after another and the shriek of ambulances will be heard on the streets. Citizens will come out to watch. Any government which is concerned about saving-face will be unable to ignore them."

Fang Lizhi encouraged Wang Dan, "Two days after the hunger strike begins, the government will surrender." They purposefully chose May 13 to start the hunger strike because Gorbachev was scheduled to arrive in Beijing two days later. They intended to ridicule the government in front of the Soviet guests and foreign reporters.

Although the students' hunger strike was not real (some took

turns fasting, others ate bread, cakes and chocolate), nevertheless, the seven-day hunger strike, with more than 3,000 participants, really shocked Beijing and China.

Tiananmen Square had been the source of the turmoil since it was first occupied. People made speeches to attack the government and spread political rumours. Illegal organizations were established to plan anti-government activities. Students from 85 different universities and colleges in various parts of the country came to the square to participate in the hunger strike or to support the fasting students. Demonstrations occurred in 84 cities throughout the country.

The hunger strike continued. More and more people joined in the demonstrations to support the students, from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands. The hunger strikers could not stop.

Some hunger strikers said, "We were like actors, the supporters were like the audience. They were so warm that we could not go off-stage. The actors were so energetic that the audience would not leave either."

The hunger strikers were surrounded by five picket-lines organized by the Autonomous Union of University Students. A student said, "We were tied as a whole group. Nobody had freedom." Some parents and teachers advised students to go back. The students said, "We cannot go back even if we want to."

The organizers of the turmoil kept the hunger strikers hostage, in order to force the Party and government to meet their political demands. They were indifferent to the health and survival of the students. Representatives from Beijing Red Cross asked the Autonomous Union of University Students to send the hunger strikers to hospital, but were turned down. Premier Li Peng's request to allow the Red Cross to take care of the hunger strikers was harshly refused. It seemed that nothing but a decisive action could end the hunger strike and bring peace to the square.

Anyone with any common sense knows that no government, ancient or modern, foreign or Chinese, would tolerate demonstrators' occupation of the central square in its capital, for over 20 days, unless it were willing to resign. Tiananmen Square is a solemn place where the government holds important ceremon-

ies and receives state guests. The Tiananmen gate tower itself is the symbol of New China, which appears on the national emblem. How can such a politically important square be allowed to be occupied for a long time? Are people allowed to pitch tents on the lawn in front of the White House in the United States or in front of the Buckingham Palace in Britain?

From May 15 on, demonstrators in Beijing took to the streets every day. Transportation was almost at a standstill. After May 17 over 60 public bus-routes stopped operation. Large numbers of factory and office workers could not go to work. Raw materials could not be supplied to factories, products could not go to market. Of the 425 large and medium-sized enterprises under Beijing municipality, 35 partly stopped production, and 16 totally stopped production. Workers and factory-directors appealed for the turmoil to cease, otherwise normal production could not be resumed.

Since traffic was blocked, daily necessities such as gas, briquettes, grain, vegetables, and milk could not reach residents. Mail was not delivered, rubbish could not be cleared, streets and public lavatories were left dirty. The normal life of citizens was disrupted. At the peak of the turmoil, student-pickets replaced traffic policemen. They wantonly stopped and checked vehicles, except ambulances. A Beijing vice-mayor was once stopped by a student-picket who wanted to check his ID card. The driver thought that if they found out the man was the vice-mayor, he would be in trouble. So he told the students, "This is Mr. x of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee." They let him go. Some ministers and generals were stopped by student-pickets on their way to attend high-level meetings. The situation had deteriorated to such an extent that any responsible government would have had to take decisive measures.

Nevertheless, the anxiety in our minds remained the most unbearable thing. When I saw those "democracy fighters" with white cloth-bands around their heads whizz past in a truck, I thought of the "Red Guards" with red armbands during the "cultural revolution." Were they patriotic? If so, then why did they humiliate the Chinese people in front of foreigners? Did they "want democracy"? Why did they do things against the law? They even instigated high-school pupils to boycott classes. If high-school pupils had participated they would have made a

mess of it. When I saw children from a kindergarten near my home wear white cloth-bands around their heads which read "Support the hunger strike," I was really grieved. Adults had created so much disturbance. Why must they pollute the minds of children too?

This state of anarchy must end. The country, the nation would benefit. This was the voice in my heart in May.

The Martial Law Enforcement Troops Were Blocked at the City Outskirts

In this mood I and my family members had clapped our hands on the night of May 19, when we saw on the TV Li Peng giving the speech at the meeting called by the central authorities and attended by the cadres from the Party, government and military institutions. When Yang Shangkun announced that some troops would be moved into the city in order to keep public order in Beijing, I realized that the government was going to enforce martial law and that the anarchic state of affairs in Beijing would come to an end.

In the same evening, when the subtitles appeared on TV saying that the students at Tiananmen Square had changed the hunger strike to a sit-in, I felt great relief after so many days of strain. I went to bed in the hope that when I woke up in the morning, things would have changed for the better.

However, I was awakened by the telephone ringing the following morning. I was petrified when my friend told me that most of the troops had been stopped at the city outskirts, and even though some troops had arrived in Beijing Railway Station by train, they were unable to get out of the station.

I ran out on to the street and saw that the iron garbage cans had been put on the road as blockades, leaving a narrow passage just wide enough to allow only one bus to pass through. The students, with white cloth-bands on their heads, were checking every vehicle on the street. The several public buses that run on this street were not in sight. People were talking in small groups:

"All the public transportation has stopped!"

"Are workers on strike?"

"It doesn't seem like it. How can you drive with all these

blockades on the road?"

"May they not cut the water and electricity!"

The situation didn't change for the better as I had expected. People started to feel uneasy again.

The street that used to have buses and other motor vehicles shuttling back and forth was now so quiet. Walking along the street, I thought with a heavy heart; had the military secret been revealed by somebody? If for none other than that reason, how could troops from several directions all be blocked? How could people without weapons stop the soldiers with weapons? The troops must have received the order that didn't allow them to fire, because their task was to keep the public order. Since they could not open fire, and students and residents unaware of the truth didn't allow them to come in, how could the situation calm down? Then I had a second thought: With troops around the city, they might also represent a kind of deterrent force which might have some effect on the situation.

It was not until some time later that I learned that somebody did leak out the secret. In his *Report on Putting Down the Anti-Government Riot*, Chen Xitong said:

At about four o'clock on the afternoon of May 19, someone holding a piece of paper and identifying himself as a staff worker of a certain organization under the Party's Central Committee, went to the "Tiananmen Square headquarters" and revealed the news that martial law was about to be declared.

As a result of the close collaboration between a small number of people who had access to top Party and state secrets and the organizers and schemers of the turmoil, the organizers made timely adjustment in their tactics. That night just 45 minutes before the meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing, they changed the hunger strike to a sit-in, in a bid to give people the false impression that since the students had already ended their hunger strike it was not necessary for the government to declare martial law. By so doing they also gained time to organize people and coerce those who were in the dark to set up roadblocks at major crossroads.

The soldiers, sitting on the trucks with submachine guns in their hands, were surrounded by people. Some climbed onto their trucks asking them to "revolt"; some cursed the soldiers, and some threw stones at them. Sitting silently with guns in

their hands, the soldiers, as seen on TV, never retorted to insults or struck back at their assailants.

People all know how powerful the Chinese People's Liberation Army is and how bravely they fought in the War of Liberation, the Korean War and the War of Counter-attack in Self-Defence Against the Vietnamese. If they had been allowed to shoot, these rioters and people unaware of the truth, no matter how capable they were, would not have been able to stop the troops from advancing into the city. The soldiers strictly obeyed the orders of "not responding when insulted or striking back when attacked."

In order to avoid a confrontation with the masses and await the understanding of the people, most of the troops withdrew on orders and were stationed in the suburbs instead of going into the city proper using force.

The troops stayed in the city outskirts for two weeks. This once again demonstrated the restraint exercised by the Party and government. People of good sense were very clear that it was not a case of the troops being unable to go into the city, but rather that they were afraid of hurting people.

The Martial Law Is Not Military Control or Curfew

According to the order issued by Premier Li Peng, the martial law was enforced from 10 a.m. on May 20 in some areas of Beijing.

There was some misunderstanding from the outside world about the precise nature of the martial law. Some thought it meant military control which would have meant that the military would be in charge of everything; some others thought it was a curfew which meant no transportation or entertainment at night. Actually, martial law means neither of the above in China. The Beijing Municipal Government was continuing to carry out its normal work. According to the martial law order issued by Li Peng, the martial law would be implemented by the Beijing Municipal Government and concrete measures would be adopted in the light of specific needs. So the martial law troops were carrying out their tasks under the leadership of the Beijing

Municipal Government.

According to the No. 1 order of the Beijing Municipal Government, the purpose and task of the martial law was to swiftly stop the unrest, and to maintain normal order of work, production, teaching, scientific research and social life in the capital.

—Under the martial law, demonstrations, petitions, class boycotts, strikes and other activities involving large numbers of people, which impede the normal social order, are banned.

—People are prohibited from using any means to create and spread rumours, establish links, make public speeches or distribute leaflets to incite social turmoil.

—It is prohibited to assault leading organs of the Party, the government and the army, to assault broadcasting, television, communications and other key units, or to sabotage important public facilities; all disruptive activities such as beating, smashing, looting and arson are strictly forbidden.

—It is prohibited to harass embassies of all countries and agencies of the United Nations in Beijing.

The public security officers, armed police and soldiers on duty have the right to use every means possible to stop any of the above prohibited activities, should they occur.

Simply speaking, enforcing martial law gives the government the right to use troops to assist the public security officers and armed police maintain normal social order, with respect of work, production and ordinary, daily life and put a stop to social unrest.

Why should the regular troops join the public security officers and armed police since their task was chiefly to maintain social order? This is a question which many foreign friends have asked. As a matter of fact, no one had anticipated that social unrest on such a large scale would occur in Beijing. Therefore, the number of public security officers and armed police in Beijing were insufficient to cope with unrest on this scale, and these were already exhausted from handling one incident after another since late April. Compared with the numbers and force of the people involved in the unrest, they were far from being able to handle the situation. Under these circumstances, some troops were summoned to the city to assist the public security personnel and armed police with the martial law enforcement.

I had a relative from another city who went to the railway

station at 4 o'clock in the morning to buy a sleeper train ticket for his return trip. When he came back, I asked him if he was questioned or examined by the patrol since he was alone at such an early hour. He told me that he brushed past the patrol but was not questioned, and that even if he was, it would have been fine because he had his ID card with him. From this we can see that the martial law was not a curfew and that people were free to move about. For those who chose to abide by the law, the martial law did not interfere with their individual freedom. Rather, they were protected, which made them feel much safer. After the turmoil was quelled, everyone felt the same way.

The "Source of Unrest" Was Not Cut Off

The period from May 20 when martial law was declared, up to the time just before the unrest was put down on June 4, was a hard time. Most of the troops were still staying outside of the city and all the bans listed in the martial law announcement could therefore not be carried out. Thus the situation became even worse.

Tiananmen Square was still occupied. So long as the "source of unrest" was still there, Beijing, and even the whole country, could not have a moment's peace. Those plotting the unrest threatened to occupy Tiananmen Square indefinitely. They were determined to stay there in order to engineer a "final confrontation" with the government. On May 24, a "defend the square" oath-taking rally was held at the square, at which, Wang Dan stated that "we already have no path of retreat" and that "as long as we can hold on there, this incompetent government is bound to collapse. Persistence is victory." They wanted to turn the square into "the epicentre and heart of a national democratic movement." They attempted to occupy the square indefinitely so as to control the whole country.

In order to enhance their "morale," the "Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students" erected a statue which very much resembled the Statue of Liberty in America. At first, they called it the "Goddess of Liberty." But fearing this was too undisguised a title, they changed it to "Goddess of Democracy." No matter what they chose to call it, everyone knew that it was the spiritual

pillar of these "pro-democracy fighters"—democracy and freedom American style.

At the square, the illegal organizations such as the Autonomous Union of University Students, the Autonomous Union of Workers and the Union for the Capital's Intelligentsia collaborated with some members of the Party who supported the unrest and schemed to overthrow the government. Wan Runnan, general manager of the Stone Company, called some leaders of the AUUS together for a meeting at the Beijing International Hotel, at which he listed the following six conditions for retreating from the square: "1) withdraw the troops, 2) cancel the martial law, 3) remove Li Peng, 4) and 5) make Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun retire, and 6) let Zhao Ziyang resume his post." Only when the government agreed to these six conditions, could they organize, as planned, "a grand victory march at midnight," and withdraw from the square "gloriously."

Moreover, the Stone Research Institute of Social Development, under the direction of Wan Runnan, launched a drive to collect signatures among NPC Standing Committee members for a letter demanding the convocation of a NPC emergency meeting to "rescind the martial law order" and "dismiss Li Peng."

At this time, the slogan, "Down with Li Peng's puppet regime," was seen at the square. They spread the rumours that "the Foreign Ministry had already broken away from the central government"; "over 30 countries in the world had announced that they would not recognize the Chinese government," and "the list for the new government had already been drawn up." All of this was in an attempt to overthrow the government and establish a new power in its place. At the same time, the "Flying Tiger Corps," formed by over a hundred motorcycles, hung around Zhongnanhai and other key departments of the central government day and night, making a threatening show. Most of the corps members were hooligans or criminals released after serving their terms of imprisonment.

During this period, the demonstrations on all levels in Beijing never stopped. In addition to the students, intellectuals also reacted strongly.

I felt very worried. The troops could neither open fire nor come into the city, which meant that martial law could not be enforced, the people incited by bad people would make greater

trouble whenever and wherever they pleased, and they would shout for the overthrow of whoever they wanted.

It was only later that I learned that even at that moment the government still wanted to use peaceful means to solve the problem.

From May 22 to 24, the government three times asked the Beijing Red Cross to send people to the square, asking the students to take the situation as a whole into consideration and withdraw from the square.

From May 23 to 27, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the municipal government also sent representatives on many occasions to talk with the sit-in student representatives, trying to persuade them to leave the square.

The martial law troops' headquarters more than once sent people to talk with students about the situation and ask them to leave the square as soon as possible.

Many of the students at the square were willing to leave, but the leaders of AUUS would not hear of it. Their "Senior advisor" Li Shuxian said very clearly that "the American satellite is watching you every day. You cannot leave the square." No matter how much the government gave in, it was useless. To agree to their six conditions would have been tantamount to handing over political power. To safeguard the government's authority the martial law troops had to come into the city.

Restraint Exercised by the Martial Law Troops

After waiting outside the city for two weeks, the martial law troops finally advanced towards the city at midnight. Even at this time, they were still under orders not to open fire and "not to respond when insulted, or strike back if attacked." Some of the troops didn't bring their weapons as they ran into the city; some troops in plain clothes entered the city separately and without weapons; and some troops went to the city with weapons but without cartridge.... All these measures were taken to avoid a confrontation with people who were ignorant of the truth and in order to avoid bloodshed.

However, things sometimes go contrary to people's wishes.

From 12 o'clock at midnight of June 3 to 10 o'clock in the evening, the troops advancing to the city were blocked at major crossroads and were under attack.

The situation on that day was grim and complicated and rumours floated all over the city. An old woman told me on the telephone. "The martial law troops have entered the city. The trail-blazing truck has run over students and people's feelings are running high. People have clashed with the Liberation Army. What an ugly turn things have taken!"

When I told him about this, my youngest son, who works at CCTV, said, "None of this story about the trail-blazing truck running over students. It's a traffic accident caused by a jeep borrowed by our TV station. It has nothing to do with the troops at all."

At 10:55 on the evening of June 2, a police jeep on loan to the China Central TV for use in making a film in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic was involved in a traffic accident on its way back to its unit. The accident, in which three persons were killed and one injured (none of them students), was caused by the driver driving at too high a speed on the slippery street after a shower. The driver, Chen Fuyu, was detained. People with ulterior motives cashed in on the accident to spread the rumour about a trail-blazing truck of the martial law troops crushing three students to death, in an attempt to incite people to block the troops from entering the city. Thus, the accident became a fuse touching off a drive to block the troops by people unaware of the truth.

From the video tape "The Truth Concerning the Riot," broadcast on CCTV, we could see that unarmed soldiers in raincoats running towards the city were beaten by a hail of stones. Some soldiers who fell behind were surrounded and beaten severely by rioters. One soldier was thrown from the flyover bridge and burned with gas. Then the burned body was hung from the bridge as an "exhibit." Some soldiers were burned to death in their vehicles, and one soldier was slaughtered and disembowelled. This fascist atrocity was too horrible to look at. My son is a man who never cries. But when he saw this, he burst into tears and said, "Can you show a woman's compassion towards rioters?"

On TV, we saw an officer who was also beaten and who was

lying in the hospital. He was Vice Political Commissar Zhang Kun, a major-general from a martial law troop. His leg and ribs were broken and he could not turn around. It was incredible that a high-ranking officer could be injured like this. Couldn't the soldiers around him defend him? Didn't he have a pistol to defend himself? We also saw a group of Muslims who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca going to visit the soldiers in hospital. The major-general said to them: "I was leading a division to advance towards the city and my vehicle got stuck in the contingents. We had guns but I didn't give the order to shoot." A major-general who had a division under him would rather have been injured than give the order to open fire. What kind of troop is this?

Later, we learned from the newspaper that at least three other major-generals were wounded. They were Shao Songgao, political Commissar of a division; Chen Mingyi, division commander; and Zhang Mingchun, army political commissar.

During these 22 hours, the rioters also looted weapons and ammunition, assaulted key government institutions such as the Great Hall of the People, Zhongnanhai, the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television and the Central Propaganda Department. The leaders of AUUS and AUW distributed knives, daggers, iron bars and iron chains and aroused the people to "take up arms to overthrow the government."

All of this demonstrates that the unrest schemed by a small number of people over the previous month had already turned into an anti-government rebellion. Under such intolerable circumstances, the martial law troops were ordered to adopt decisive measures to put down the rebellion.

Starting from 6 o'clock in the evening, the announcement of the martial law troops was broadcast on TV and radio again and again, asking students and residents not to go out onto the streets and not to impede the troops in carrying out their tasks. Sitting in front of the TV, I was so nervous I didn't know what to do. I didn't know how long I had been sitting there before I heard the gunshots from afar. Something that people with good intentions hadn't wished to see happen was happening.

The troops at the crossroads exercised great restraint. When they were halted and surrounded, they were forced to shoot mainly into the air or at the ground to give warnings or to

disperse the crowds blocking the road. Throwing all caution to the winds, some desperados began to assail the soldiers with bricks and iron bars. It was only when their safety and lives came under direct menace that the soldiers began to fire in self-defence, killing some of the ruffians. Because there were so many onlookers and students, some people were either hit by vehicles or shot by stray bullets. People were sorry about the accidental woundings. Those onlookers who wouldn't listen to persuasion brought tremendous difficulty to the martial law troops who ended up with great casualties. More than 6,000 soldiers and police were injured and scores of them killed. Among more than 1,000 vehicles burned down, were over 60 armoured cars, and 30 police cars. A number of weapons and ammunitions were looted.

An army officer told people later, "If we had been allowed to let ourselves go, one battalion of soldiers would have been quite enough to quell the riot. But with rioters hiding behind onlookers, we had to stay our hand."

A photo published in the June 19, 1989 *Time* magazine of the United States showed a man blocking a column of tanks with bare hands. I also saw it on TV. This man stood in front of the tanks. When the first tank turned to one side trying to dodge him, he also went to that side to block it. The tank did not crush him, or open fire on him.

No matter how the American media distorted the facts by using this photo, any one with any common sense would wonder how a man with nothing in his hands could stop a column of tanks. Isn't this proof that the martial law troops had exercised great restraint?

Eyewitness Accounts

Please allow me to quote Professor James C. Hsiung of the New York University in an eyewitness account he wrote. From the midnight of June 3 to the morning of June 4, he saw with his own eyes from the top of the Beijing Hotel, how the troops marched towards Tiananmen from the east.

After midnight, I saw troops *trotting* (that is on foot) from the east end toward Tiananmen Square. They were *without* helmets and

weapons. As they were approaching the square, they were blocked by huge crowds and were forced to retreat, trotting back to the direction (east) they had come from. On their retreat route, the troops were chased by the crowds, many throwing rocks and bricks.

Not long after, troops returned by truck, this time with helmets on and weapons in hand. By then, the crowds had set up more roadblocks. As the trucks were negotiating their way through, the crowds stopped them with a barrage of rocks. This free-for-all went on for some time, during which many soldiers were either killed or wounded; and some lost their weapons to the ruffians. Then, came the armored reinforcements spitting sporadic fire, apparently in revenge, into the crowds along both sides of the road. Besides the ruffians and students, many were merely onlookers.

The crowds, however, fought back hard. They climbed atop the on-coming tanks. Some even used "Molotov cocktails" or the equivalents of a flame-thrower against the tanks. One tank went ablaze. As the three soldiers inside opened the latch to run away from the heat, some hooligans shouted: "Kill them, kill them!" A BCC (Taipei) radio reporter on the scene recorded the shouting. He later told me that he saw the three soldiers killed by their maulers. A Chinese-American friend, in whose house I had been a dinner guest only two nights before, later called and told me that a similar attack took place in front of their apartment building. One soldier's corpse, lying by an incinerated troop-carrier truck, I was told, was set on fire by his killers, who had poured gasoline on the body. In all the cases we knew, the ruffians were much older than most college students and did not appear to be students at all.

Professor Hsiung stressed that he only saw troops coming from the east, not from the west, and that it was said the troops from the west were not very "civilized." He was confused because what he saw was quite a "civilized" troop. In other words, they didn't open fire before they were attacked or looted. How come the troops coming from the other direction should behave so differently?

I have a friend who lives in an apartment building on Fuxingmenwai Street across from the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, who watched the troops marching from the west to the east. This friend is the Vice Director of the *Chinese Literature* magazine Dong Lianghui. The following is what she told me:

I live on the eighth floor. Looking down from my window is

Fuxingmenwai Street, the one that leads to Tiananmen Square. After dinner on June 3, my son said to me, "Come and have a look. The situation out there is not right." I looked down from the window and saw a group of people moving the dividing blocks made of concrete and iron bars, to block the traffic. They also pushed a bus and put it across the street before setting fire to it. On the 200-metre-long section of the street in front of our building, they set up five roadblocks.

At about 10 p.m., I heard gunshots from afar. Then I heard people shouting, "They've come, they've come!" Onlookers in the street dispersed. But when they didn't see the troops coming, they went out again.

At about midnight, the troops marched from the west. In the front was the "anti-riot team" of twenty soldiers with shields in their hands to clear the way; behind them were soldiers in square formations; at the rear were vehicles; soldiers with helmets and guns walked on both sides of the vehicles.

Both the vehicles and soldiers moved slowly. The soldiers clearing the way had to remove roadblocks and buses. The troops had to stop many times. When they stopped, the ruffians hiding on both sides of the street started to throw things like rocks and incendiary bottles at the soldiers. Then the troops opened fire into the air as warnings. Sometimes they also fired at the ground whipping up sparks. I only once saw them fire at a man. He tossed a flame-thrower against a vehicle and set it on fire. Then he threw something like an incendiary bottle at another vehicle, but in vain. He fell on the ground at the gunshot, and was immediately taken onto a tricycle.

Some people from our building and the one next to ours went out to look. I was told later that no one from these two buildings was killed.

All this demonstrates that the troops from the west also exercised great restraint. They didn't shoot until attacked. In Professor Hsiung's words, they were also quite "civilized." She also thought the ruffians did not appear to be students at all because they spoke dirty Beijing local dialect.

The facts once again proved that those ruffians were mainly criminals released after serving a sentence, gangs of political hooligans, and dregs from the "Gang of Four" and from society.

Rumour of the Tiananmen Bloodbath

According to the official statistics, over 3,000 civilians were wounded, and among the more than 200 killed, 36 were college students. The figure verified by the Beijing Higher Education Bureau showed that these 36 students came from 20 colleges and universities. Among them, 6 were from the Chinese People's University, 3 from Qinghua University, 3 from Beijing Science and Technology University, whilst seven other schools, including Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University, lost 2 students each and 10 other schools each had 1 student killed. Some of them had participated in the riot. Found in their pockets were ID cards of AUUS "Dare-to-Die Corps" or pickets. Some were accidentally killed when spectating on the street. A leader of the Beijing Higher Education Bureau announced that none of these 36 students were killed at Tiananmen Square.

Rumours from outside China claimed that Tiananmen Square was a bloodbath and over three thousand people were killed there. But in actual fact not a single person was killed at Tiananmen Square.

The students who had for so long occupied Tiananmen Square withdrew at 5 o'clock on the morning of June 4. During their withdrawal, the martial law troops didn't open fire at them or crush them with tanks. All the rumours and speculations abroad were not true. Up until now, no one has been able to give any proof that there were people killed during the clear-up of the square.

From the TV, I saw the students walking slowly from the southeast corner of the square, carrying flags and streamers. They didn't appear to be running in panic. On June 6, Zhang Gong, head of the Political Department of a martial law unit, announced at the press conference that, "while carrying out their clearing task from 4:30 to 5:30 a.m. on June 4, neither did the troops kill any student or resident, nor did they use tanks or military vehicles to crush or hit anybody."

I believe what Zhang Gong said. What some other eyewitnesses told the public confirmed what Zhang Gong said or what was shown on TV. For instance, three workers at the Great Hall of the People watched the whole process of clearing up the square from there; another worker at a store to the east of the

square saw everything from 1:15 to the morning of the same day.

The following is the summary of their accounts:

"At 1:30 a.m. of June 4, the troops arrived at the Chang'an Avenue to the north of the square. The emergency announcement of the Beijing Municipal Government and the martial law troops' headquarters was broadcast again and again over the loudspeakers at the square, asking people to leave there as soon as possible. During the three hours of the broadcasting, the troops didn't take any action.

"Large numbers of people left upon hearing the announcement.

"Student representatives asked the troops if they could be allowed to leave peacefully and voluntarily.

"The troops agreed immediately. They explained repeatedly through the loudspeaker that they agreed to the students leaving there as they requested.

"The students occupying the Monument to the People's Heroes were still arguing as to whether they should leave or not. Later they held a spoken vote and the majority agreed to leave.

"At about 4:40 a.m., students left the square in lines from the southeast corner. The troops moved slowly into the square, keeping a distance from them. By 5:30, all the students had left.

"After they had all left, the soldiers checked every tent to make sure that there was no one inside, then the vehicles and armoured cars came to push down the tents and other obstacles.

"During the whole clearing process, no soldiers fired at the people."

Someone might ask that if this were the case, why then were armoured cars used. This was to make clearing up the blockades at the square more convenient, to create an atmosphere of deterrence, and to prevent ruffians from throwing stones at soldiers.

Everything was so transparent to me. But there were still people who believed the Voice of America. I asked one of them if any one of the 36 dead students had been killed at the square. No one. They were all killed either blocking roads at crossroads, or whilst watching.

This reminded me of a farce which occurred in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. Some people spread the rumour that three

students from Ningxia University had been crushed to death by military vehicles at Tiananmen Square. So students held a mourning ceremony and a protest demonstration for them. But later, two of the three students returned alive to Yinchuan, capital of the region, whilst the other one was staying safe and sound in his home in Beijing.

Experiences of a Song Composer

Before the clear-up of the square, a few student representatives went to negotiate with the martial law troops. On August 17, song-composer Hou Dejian, one of their representatives, appeared on TV. He told reporters in his home what he had experienced when leaving the square before dawn on June 4.

He said that Tiananmen Square was in chaos on the night of June 3. Students held different opinions about leaving the square. After midnight, the students went to gather around the Monument to the People's Heroes. Amongst them were himself and three other people who had held a 72-hour hunger strike.

He said that many people, including people over-30-years-old like the four of them, were not very cool-headed. Then, two doctors from the Red Cross had suggested that they go to negotiate with the martial law troops. At about 3 o'clock in the morning of June 4, Hou Dejian and another hunger striker, accompanied by two Red Cross doctors, took an ambulance and went over to the martial law troops.

On Chang'an Avenue north of the square, their ambulance was stopped by the troops. A political commissar came to talk with them, telling them that a passageway had been left at the southeast corner of the square for the students to withdraw by.

Hou Dejian came back to the monument, asking the students to leave. For the time being, the students were taking the decision to retreat or not, by a spoken vote. Hou could not decide whose side got a louder voice. But he didn't care too much. He pulled at some students asking them to go. Many students started to walk towards the southeast of the square.

At that time, both the soldiers and students were very nervous, as they had no idea what the other side was going to do to them. Some soldiers pointed their guns to the front. When Hou

Dejian made gestures asking them to point their guns upwards, most of the soldiers did so.

He said that during the whole process he didn't see any student, civilian, or soldier being killed, or any tank or armoured car crush the crowd. He saw three or four tanks outside the square. He said he heard the gunshots and saw that tear-gas shells were being fired at the southwest corner of the square. But he said that the gunshots were being fired into the air, or at the loudspeakers on the monument.

Hou said that he was lying on a stretcher when leaving the square with the last group of people. "I was covered by a coat and I was scared when I heard the gunshots," he said. "But the doctor told me not to panic because they were only shooting into the air."

After leaving the square on June 4, he went to hide in a resident foreign agency in Beijing. During this period of time, he gradually learned what was happening outside and decided to leave the agency. He went home on August 16.

A Teacher's Account

On September 4, the account of a teacher who saw the whole process of clearing up the square was broadcast over the radio. His name is Kong Xiangzhi, a teacher in the Soft-Science Research Institute of the Chinese People's University. The following is his account:

On the afternoon of June 3, the "Autonomous Union" of our university was asking people over the loudspeaker to go to every crossroad to block the military vehicles. Being afraid that the students might take some drastic action, I went to Tiananmen Square by bike at 10 p.m. The loudspeakers of the martial law troops and the AUUS were both broadcasting at the square. Someone was calling on people to "deal with violence by means of violence," and to "defend the right of every citizen prescribed by the Constitution." I was very angry at hearing this. This was tantamount to pushing the students to the brink of death. So I wanted to argue with him, but was stopped by the student-pickets. Even when I showed my ID card, they didn't allow me to go in there. After a little while, I found our university's tent but there was no one I knew. When the students who were there saw my university badge, they came up to

talk with me. I told them that the government was going to take action that night and hoped they could persuade the others to go back. But they thought there was little possibility. One of them told me that "the situation on the nights of May 19 and 20 was much grimmer." I asked them not to do anything in "self-defence" if the troops came to clear up the square. I also asked them to go back to school as soon as possible. They agreed. At about 12:10 a.m., the troops marched in from West Chang'an Avenue.

I was sitting on the steps outside the west entrance of the Great Hall of the People. When the troops marched towards the square, I saw a group of people throwing rocks at them. When a few soldiers went up to them, they ran southwards. These soldiers fired into the air. Then some other soldiers came up but they didn't shoot at the crowds, otherwise I would have been shot, since I was now on the sidewalk. I gave up the idea of getting my bike. I wanted to go to the square and ask the students to leave.

When I walked to the east side of the south entrance of the Great Hall of the People, I saw a formation of soldiers marching from south to north and a tank driving slowly. The square was now under the control of the army. I dared not get in there any more. By then, the students had all gathered around the monument.

After a little while, I walked to the east entrance of the Great Hall where several hundred soldiers were sitting and some people were talking with them. The atmosphere seemed friendly. When I saw someone binding up a wound for a young soldier, I went up to help and asked him how he had been wounded. He told me he had been hit by rocks. He also told me that many of his comrades had also been wounded. I saw many soldiers' heads, arms or hands were bound up with gauze. I told him that I believed that the majority of the students and residents would not do this. He agreed with me. Then, an officer came to talk with us. He said that the troops would never open fire on the masses or the students.

At about 3:30 a.m., the troops began to fall in. The officer then said to his men: "We are going in to clear up the square. Now I declare that no one is permitted to shoot at the students or masses. At the moment, this represents the highest discipline."

I shook hands with the soldiers in the front row one by one and wished them good luck. When I was about to leave, the officer came up to me and said to me, shaking my hand: "Please tell the teachers of your school, we will never shoot the students. Please don't worry!" When I heard this, I didn't know what to say. I only said, "Thank you, thank you!"

At about 4:10, all the lights at the square went out. A lot of soldiers

came out from the east entrance of the Great Hall. Some of them sat down outside the hall and some walked to the north. I sat down to watch under the pine trees, feeling excited and nervous. I was nervous because this was the first time I had seen so many soldiers carrying guns and I didn't know how they were going to clear up the square. I was excited because the 50-day-long farce was almost coming to an end. People could now relax.

Before long, students lit a few fires around the monument and the flames went up to the sky. I heard from the loudspeaker that Hou Dejian and a few others were repeatedly asking the students to leave and said they had taken up the matter with the martial law troops. At about 4:30, the martial law troops announced over the loudspeaker: "Attention, students. We have agreed to your appeal. We will allow you to leave peacefully." The announcement was broadcast over and over again.

At about 4:50, the students around the monument began to leave. I looked around and saw that there was almost no one in sight. So I came back with the students. That was at 5:05 a.m.

This was what I saw at the time. No one was killed throughout the whole process. Some people with ulterior motives who had fled abroad spread rumours that Tiananmen Square had been a blood-bath and that they had had to crawl out from underneath the corpses, which was sheer nonsense. They wanted to cheat people of good will all over the world and to slander our great socialist republic. But this will only turn out to be a futile effort. For facts speak louder than words.

3

Looking at the Turbulence from the Qinghua University Campus

On the afternoon of August 25, 1989, the new Party General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Jiang Zemin and three other Politburo members went to visit Qinghua University, where they held a four-hour talk with 80-some representatives of its teachers and students. The General Secretary and his companions first listened to the speeches given by the representatives of the teachers and students. The first one to speak was Jiang Feng, a student from the Department of Computer Science.

"I participated in the hunger strike," he started ironically, "so I'm an agitator."

"Who put that cap on your head?" asked Jiang Zemin.

"I can only say I put it on my head by myself," said Jiang Feng.

"No one said you are agitators," said Jiang Zemin. "After all, you young people are the future and hope of our country."

"The General Secretary has taken the cap off my head," laughed Jiang Feng.

"No one ever put the caps on any of you in the first place," said Jiang Zemin, laughing heartily.

An idea came to me when I read the above conversation in the *Shuimu Qinghua*, a Qinghua campus magazine. Over the previous few months, I had been observing the Beijing turmoil from the angle of society at large. If I had gone to Qinghua and talked with the teachers and students as the General Secretary did, I would have gained new understanding of this world-shocking incident.

I talked with my Qinghua professor and lecturer friends

about my intention. They agreed that I should go to a school; but they advised that Qinghua was certainly not a good choice because it was not the "focus of the earthquake," and, thus, was not typical. I explained that I didn't mean to write about the whole course of the incident at Qinghua but to use it as an observation post to get a perspective on some aspects of the Beijing turbulence. So they introduced me to a few teachers and students. I learned a lot from talking with them.

The Target of Attack Already Decided at the Very Beginning of the Turbulence

Founded in 1911 and known as "cradle of Chinese engineers," Qinghua University has had a history of 79 years. It is now China's No. 1 university that emphasizes science and engineering. It has an enrolment of about 13,000, including undergraduate and graduate students, and since the founding of the People's Republic, it has turned out large numbers of talented professionals.

Qinghua is only a ten-minute bike-ride from the famous Beijing University. In every past student unrest, students from Qinghua would go to Beijing University to read "big-character posters." Every time they came back, they would say admiringly, "Posters at Beijing University are better written."

This time, the disturbance had arisen quite suddenly. In the three days following the death of Hu Yaobang, 88 posters and elegiac couplets appeared at Qinghua. But the students didn't leave the campus before April 19. On April 18 and 19, Wang Dan had already taken a group of students to present a petition at Tiananmen Square and in front of Xinhuaamen—the main gate to the seat of the State Council, they had even tried to break into it, brazenly violating the law. They also made up the rumour of the "April 20 bloody tragedy" in which, they alleged, the PLA soldiers and police had beaten students, inciting the first upsurge of the confrontation between students and the government.

On the evening of April 19, more than 3,000 students had a demonstration on Qinghua campus. Later, over 1,000 students went in groups to Beijing University, where they joined Beijing

University students in making speeches. At the rally, the three "instructions" by Jin Guantao (a former research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Sciences) were announced: 1. The present situation is good; 2. Students from Beijing and Qinghua universities should unite; and 3. A non-violent petition movement should be organized. The students didn't go back to Qinghua until after midnight.

On April 20, three representatives from Beijing University were sent to Qinghua to discuss the demonstration to be held in Tiananmen Square. They made speeches in front of the students' dining hall at lunch time, inciting the students to take part in the demonstration at Tiananmen Square.

On the following day, an eye-catching poster entitled "Letter to the Qinghua Students" appeared on campus. It read as follows:

In order to coordinate the unified action of the Beijing, Nankai, Chinese People's, and Beijing Teachers' universities and to protest against the tyranny and the atrocities committed against the students, it is decided that students will gather in front of the No. 10 dining hall at 6:30 p.m.

Qinghua Section of the Union of University Students

When a group of students gathered in front of the dining hall, someone gave an agitative speech calling upon the students to go to Tiananmen Square and to attend the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang to be held at the Great Hall of the People on the following day. Several thousand students took to the streets on the same night and marched to Tiananmen at 1:30 a.m.

When the memorial meeting was held at 10 a.m. of April 22, over 30,000 students from 20-some schools—including Beijing University, Qinghua University, Chinese People's University, Beijing Teachers' University and Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics—gathered outside of the Great Hall of the People. Earlier, the Beijing Municipal Government had announced the clearing-up of the square from 8 a.m. of April 22 to ensure a smoothly-running meeting. Ignoring the government's announcement, thousands of students went to sit in the square ahead of time. The government exercised restraint by allowing the students to stay at the square, asking them to observe order and to listen to the live broadcast of the memorial

meeting.

On the surface, the organizers who agitated the students to go to the square only demanded that they be allowed to attend the meeting. But in essence, they meant to "mass troops at the city wall" to present their petition. Sure enough, the rumour came from the square that after the meeting Li Peng would meet the students. Someone with a megaphone announced that "Li Peng has already promised to meet the students at 12:15." Then, on the steps outside the eastern entrance of the Great Hall of the People, student leader Guo Haifeng and two others knelt down with a large roll of a petition raised over their heads, demanding that they be allowed to present it to Li Peng in person. The workers told them they could take it in and forward it to Li Peng later. They refused and would not stand up. This prearranged farce of presenting a petition and the rumour that "Li Peng broke his promise and refused to meet the students" stirred up great dissatisfaction among the students.

After the students went back to Qinghua, they were very angry. They thought the government didn't take the students seriously. On the same day, they decided to boycott class, since they failed in presenting the petition. On April 24, 60,000 students of Beijing's 40 colleges and universities didn't go to class.

From the beginning of the students' unrest, I didn't understand why the target of attack was Li Peng. He had been appointed the Premier not long before and he hadn't committed serious mistakes that would cause any dissatisfaction from the masses. But soon after Hu Yaobang died, the rumour had it that Hu Yaobang had fallen ill after being enraged by Li Peng at a Politburo conference. Thereafter, a big poster demanding the resignation of Li Peng appeared at the Qinghua campus. And then, on April 18, Wang Dan led a group of students from Beijing University to present their petition. Two of the seven demands (including those put forth in Guo Haifeng and company's petition) were to "rehabilitate" Hu Yaobang and to reverse the verdict on the campaign of anti-bourgeois liberalization. Actually, these are affairs that should be dealt with by the Party Central Committee. But why did they go around the Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and ask for Premier Li Peng, who is in charge of the government affairs?

A teacher from Qinghua who was clear about the whole story told me that the organizers of the student unrest were very familiar with mass psychology. The masses only had some vague dissatisfaction with the Party and the government, and they didn't have in mind any particular person they were against. But once the masses were aroused, their dissatisfaction had to be focused on a specific person. Deng Xiaoping was their No. 1 target of attack because he was the one who most resolutely upheld the Four Cardinal Principles. Why was Li Peng the second target when students at large didn't know much about him? The plotters of the turmoil had already secretly designated Li Peng as the representative of the conservatives and the initiator of the movement for improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order which started in 1988. His opponent was said to be Zhao Ziyang, who presumably favoured reform and the policy of opening to the outside world. Despite the students' dissatisfaction with Zhao Ziyang, the plotters drew up among themselves the principle of "overthrow Li and protect Zhao." Therefore, they employed all means to "focus" their dissatisfaction on Li Peng.

A Qinghua student responsible for coordinating activities with the Autonomous Union of University Students (AUUS) said the April 22 news that Li Peng had cancelled his promise to meet the students was fabricated. According to a tape recording provided by a reporter who was said to have spread this information, Li Peng actually had not told student representatives anything of the sort when he talked with the latter. Spreading this rumour at the square was meant to agitate the antagonism of the masses and to focus their dissatisfaction on Li Peng.

As for the plotters and organizers, they didn't have anything personal against Li Peng, either. They wanted to overthrow him because they considered him as representing the conservatives.

At the early stage of the student unrest, a poster entitled "My View on the Student Movement" clearly stated this attitude:

If the student movement can lead to the downfall of Li Peng, that will be the greatest success of the movement. It seems that Li Peng is determined to stake China's destiny on his dream of reviving public ownership in China. Before him, experiments of this kind had been conducted by many who were far more outstanding than him,

and every one of them had failed without exception.

In their eyes, the "improvement and rectification" advocated by Li Peng was to "bring public ownership back to life," while the reform and open policy advocated by them was meant to turn the socialist public ownership to the capitalist private ownership. This was also stated very clearly in the same poster:

Reform means to turn public ownership to private ownership. The property relationship in a society decides every other social relationship. At the same time, the property system also decides all political, economic and social systems. What is reform to achieve without reforming the property relationship and property system? All the problems in China can be boiled down to this particular one....

This poster was signed by an "observer," who may not be a student but some behind-the-scene "senior advisor." Even if he were a student, he might be one of those who had been strongly influenced by liberalizers standing for the restoration of capitalist private ownership in China. This poster pinpointed the political programme of the plotters: "Only private ownership can save China"—a programme that is diametrically opposed to what the Party's proposition: "Only socialism can save China."

Worsening of the Situation After the May 4th Speech by Zhao Ziyang

Before the memorial meeting was held on April 22, the Party and government had all along exercised restraint towards students' extremist opinions and law-breaking actions. The most obvious example was that they didn't force those 30,000 students to leave the square at the time when it was supposed to be cleared for the meeting. But the situation deteriorated when the students wanted to take a mile when given an inch. The unrest would not calm down unless some decisive measures were taken.

On April 26, the *People's Daily* published, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, an editorial entitled "Take a Clear-Cut Stand Against Turmoil," pointing out that it "is a planned conspiracy, a turmoil which, in essence, aims at fundamentally negating the leadership of the Communist Party of China and

the socialist system." The Beijing Municipal Party Committee convened a mass meeting attended by over 10,000 Party members, calling upon them to take a clear-cut stand against the turmoil.

On the same day, an announcement was made at the school affairs meeting of Qinghua. It affirmed the patriotic enthusiasm and reasonable demands of the majority of students, pointing out that "this is different from the intentions of those who want to take this opportunity to make turmoil." It also pointed out that "over the past week, some students made some extremist and wrong statements and it is hoped that students will deepen their understanding and learn their lessons from it." It stressed that "from now on, students should not have contact with the illegal off-campus organizations, or participate in the demonstrations organized by them, or 'go up to the north and down to the south for experience-exchanging activities.' " It also asked students to resume attending class.

Through the teachers and student cadres of the various departments, the school authorities engaged in a great amount of persuasion and dissuasion. But despite their efforts, about 2,000 Qinghua students nonetheless participated in the April 27 demonstrations, which was attended by 30,000 students from 38 colleges and universities. After this, most of the student calmed down emotionally. Some leaders of the illegal Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union resigned and the disbanding of the Preparatory Committee was announced. Most of the students hoped to resume class. On the morning of May 5, over 80 percent of the students went to class. The student unrest and turmoil was starting to relax. Had it not been for Zhao Ziyang openly making statements in support of the turmoil, the situation might have gradually quieted down—judging from what happened at the Qinghua campus.

On May 4, Zhao Ziyang took the opportunity of the meeting with the officials of the Asian Development Bank, who were attending the 22nd Annual Conference of the ADB, to analyse the domestic situation and express an opinion contrary to the spirit of the April 26 editorial. He said, "There will be no big turmoil in China.... Are there people who want to take advantage of or who are taking advantage of the students' action? This is hardly avoidable in a large country like China."

After the speech was broadcast on TV, many Party members, cadres and especially those teachers responsible for students' ideological work sensed that "the Central Committee's tone has changed." Many people asked the school leaders what was going on. On the same night, reporters one after another from a few newspapers rushed to Qinghua to interview the president and vice-presidents of the school, asking them to express their opinion about Zhao Ziyang's speech. They politely refused to talk with the reporters because their opinion was different from that of Zhao's. When a reporter called a school leader asking him to make comments, the leader said he hadn't watched TV. The reporter offered to read the speech to him over the phone. The leader answered, "This is not a serious way to handle something so important." Some reporters even threatened, "If you don't talk now and if the newspaper publishes the opinions of some other school leaders tomorrow, you'll put yourself in a very passive position." They once again refused. They felt it was abnormal for some reporters to behave with such enthusiasm.

Now everything is clear. Zhao's speech was prepared by his former political secretary, Bao Tong. After Zhao took the opportunity of meeting the ADB officials to dish it out, Bao Tong demanded the speech be broadcast on TV and radio immediately and frontpaged by every newspaper the following day. Besides, he also asked the newspapers to publish all the positive reactions about the speech so as to mould public opinion in support of Zhao. But those reporters who came to Qinghua with the task of soliciting a "positive reaction" met with a rebuff.

Reporters also went to gather opinions from students. Their abnormal enthusiasm was noticed by students who had sharp political sensitivity. They sensed that the different voices in the Central Committee meant somebody might be supporting them. Their low morale was once again aroused, for now that they had supporters in the Central Committee, the struggle could be escalated. The hunger strike at Tiananmen Square pushed the turmoil to a new high beginning May 13.

Unlike Qinghua, Beijing University had continuously boycotted classes since the boycott began on April 23. On May 11, a poster entitled "Urgent Suggestions" was put up at Beijing University:

In view of the present serious situation, we suggest that we cut off all means of retreat and adopt the following urgent measures:

A. Hold a group hunger strike. The specific time and place shall be discussed.

B. Let all of Beijing's colleges and universities pool their efforts to hold a demonstration and march to Tiananmen on the day of Gorbachev's visit to Beijing. Fight our last battle! Success or failure hinges on this one action.

After carefully plotting their actions, the AUUS leaders decided to occupy Tiananmen Square by holding a group hunger strike there, at the same time organizing a large number of students to "protect" the hunger strikers beginning two days before Gorbachev's visit.

Under the unified plan of AUUS, 97 Qinghua students signed up for the hunger strike. Later, the number went up to 200. Besides, 2,000 students worked as members of the picket and supporting group at the square.

A student counsellor from the Department of Radio of Qinghua University told me that he had a good friend who joined in the hunger strike out of naive political enthusiasm. He was a hard-working and upright student. The counsellor broke through the picket line many times to persuade him to stop and go back to school. The student said he wanted to go back to school but he couldn't make the decision by himself. Although he had voted many times for stopping the hunger strike, the "headquarters" finally announced to continue the strike. Wuerkaixi, a ringleader of the AUUS, said that "at the square, it is not the case of the minority obeying the majority, but of 99.9 obeying 0.1. If there is one hunger striker unwilling to leave the square, the other several thousand will not leave either." This ridiculous "democratic principle" was published in the May 19 *People's Daily*.

After the hunger strike started, like other schools, Qinghua, without announcing it, once again started an indefinite class boycott. Students and teachers went to Tiananmen Square with different purposes in mind. Some went to work as picket members, some to give their support, some to persuade the others to return to school and some to visit the students out of concern about the students' health. People from other walks of life and with different intentions also gathered at the square. All

of a sudden, Tiananmen Square became the centre of attention of the country and the world. As far as this is concerned, the hunger-strike plotters had succeeded.

In the mean time, the general idea was that the purpose of the hunger strike was to press the authorities into a dialogue and that the situation might turn for the better if only the government leaders would come out to talk with the students. With this thought in mind, some people signed appeals to the Central Committee and some others joined in the demonstration in support of the students. These people oversimplified the situation. As I have mentioned earlier, I got a better idea of the whole incident after I visited Qinghua and talked with teachers and students who had had contact with the student leaders.

A Qinghua student leader told me that having a dialogue with the government was not the true intention of the AUUS leaders. The real intention was for the masses to follow their example. Though the government sought all channels to open a dialogue with the students, it was always the AUUS leaders who one-sidedly raised the demands. The Qinghua student leader once attended a talk with Yan Mingfu, Director of the United Front Department of the Central Committee. When everything was already settled, Wang Chaohua, an AUUS leader, suddenly demanded that Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng come out to meet the hunger strikers. The Qinghua student felt that at this point the terms were too harsh and that it was difficult for the government to meet their demands. The AUUS had no sincerity at all towards the dialogues.

Before this, on April 25, Qinghua student representatives demanded that a dialogue be opened with the government. A deputy secretary-general of the State Council, a Vice-Minister of the State Education Commission and a deputy secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee waited from 2:00 to 4:15 p.m., but the student representatives did not show up. Later, it was said in the newspaper that the students couldn't reach an agreement on who should be chosen as representatives to attend the dialogue. But this was not what I learned later at Qinghua. The truth was that the AUUS wouldn't like the Qinghua students to go alone to talk with the government leaders.

After the hunger strike began, the United Front Department of the Central Committee sent people to contact the AUUS

leaders. Some "celebrities" were also invited to mediate for a way acceptable to both sides to end the strike. A Qinghua teacher also attended the meeting. He said to me, "From this informal 'mediation' meeting, I saw the AUUS leaders had a very clear-cut political programme in mind. Their attitude was tough and their way of doing things was very tricky. It was impossible to reach any agreement with this sort of people."

At this meeting, the first thing they talked about was what should be discussed during the dialogue.

The two things the AUUS leaders wanted to talk about included: 1. To say that the April 26 editorial of the *People's Daily* is wrong; and 2. to recognize the illegal organizations founded during that student unrest. The government, of course, would never yield to such demands so long as it adhered to its principles.

At this "mediation" meeting, someone asked whether it would be possible for the *People's Daily* to publish another editorial to affirm the students' patriotic enthusiasm. The AUUS leaders rejected this proposal. They demanded the person "dishing out" this article be investigated and that the person responsible for publishing this editorial be removed from office.

The teacher who attended the "mediation" meeting told me that "as soon as I heard this, I was clear that, though on the surface their purpose was to open a dialogue with the government and negate the editorial and to give to masses an impression that the government would not even meet such simple demands, in essence their hidden purpose was to ask some Central Committee leaders to step down and to pave the way to the legalization of their illegal organizations and the establishment of an opposition party. Class struggle is relentless. People with good intentions naively took the student unrest as an expression of the patriotism on the part of the students, to the neglect of the fact that it was actually a struggle between taking the socialist or the capitalist road. They oversimplified a complicated situation."

Involvement of the Reactionary Forces at Home and Abroad

After the hunger strike started on May 13, the Qinghua students changed a lot both emotionally and in their way of thinking. Even if the students' participation in the demonstra-

tions and the class boycott was initially out of their dissatisfaction with the government, their sense on political participation grew stronger after they entered the square. Everyone was talking with great enthusiasm about the current affairs and the political events happening both inside and outside the Party. Before this, except for a few student leaders who were clear about the political programme and the purpose of the student upheaval, the majority of the students had only some vague idea about the whole thing. But after this, even the ordinary students started to talk about complex political programmes. This was because, besides the students at the square, people of all walks of life, such as scientists, journalists, writers and artists were gathering together to talk about politics. All day long, the loudspeakers broadcasted all kinds of news and rumours. What was worse, all kinds of political forces from home and abroad took this opportunity to take part, complicating the situation. What was the most abnormal was that the differences among the policy-makers on the Central Committee were exposed among the students. In their words, the students had an "antenna" through which the secrets of the Central Committee and instructions by people with ulterior motives were transmitted.

The warning that the Central Committee was going to take some action was also transmitted to the AUUS leaders from this "antenna," or "the higher-ups." On May 17, the Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union at Qinghua got a call from someone who claimed to be from a Central Committee institution saying that after Gorbachev left Beijing, Li Peng would meet with the students; that Zhao Ziyang had already resigned; that martial law was to be enforced two days after and that the troops were moving towards Beijing. Later, the Preparatory Committee received another call from someone who claimed himself to be a teacher and who told the same news. The same news also came from the Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union at Beijing University. As he got the same information from various channels, the student thought the news must be reliable and conveyed it to the headquarters at Tiananmen Square.

When the turmoil plotters got news of this secret decision of the Central Committee, the worst was to be expected. On the night of May 19, the AUUS and the Autonomous Union of

Workers (AUW) summoned people to every intersection to block the troops.

On May 16, a man who claimed to have contact with "the higher-ups" came to Qinghua and asked the leaders of the illegal organizations many questions, such as: What will happen if some of the hunger strikers die? After making some investigations he left, promising to return two days later. When he did come back on May 18, he asked the Qinghua students to pass on four suggestions to the AUUS. One of them was that since Deng Xiaoping was old, he should maintain his revolutionary integrity in his later years by retiring.

This "suggestion" was echoed by the Voice of America. After the imposition of martial law, VOA, quoting a commentator, said that the biggest mistake committed by the Chinese students after entering Tiananmen Square was to make Deng Xiaoping the target of their attack and that it seemed that Deng Xiaoping had strong military backing.

The AUUS leaders took these cues readily from up top and outside. Therefore, after the enforcement of the martial law on May 20, the slogan of "Down with Deng Xiaoping" was replaced by "Down with the puppet regime of Li Peng." Their plan was to put Li Peng under the spotlight so as to reach their goal.

The penetration of the reactionary political forces from abroad was most obvious in Beijing University and was also reflected at Qinghua.

On April 22, when the student unrest was at its early stage, two Americans who claimed themselves to be reporters came to Qinghua to talk with the student leaders. One of them said that he had just talked with Washington on the phone and that they supported the students. He said that the Chinese government was worried. He added that Beijing University had already put together their organization and Qinghua should do the same. Once they had their own organization, the Chinese government would become more worried.... Judging from what the American said, this was not at all an interview but rather an expression of their ideas and their support. He seemed to be an American with sophisticated political background.

Since late May when the turmoil escalated, the Qinghua Preparatory Committee received calls from Hong Kong every evening. Each time the woman claimed to be a Miss Chen, but

her accent changed every time she made the call. She sounded like a spokesperson for some organization. The content was always about three things: 1. Asking about news of the Beijing student movement; 2. Telling the students reactions about the student movement from China's main cities, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, Japan, the United States and even major European cities; and 3. Expressing their support, saying that they would try to provide everything the Qinghua students needed.

It was known to everybody that the AUUS received a large amount of money and supplies from abroad. The Qinghua Preparatory Committee alone got more than 200,000 yuan.

Why Were Students Involved? What Lessons Should They Learn?

What was the true intention of the students in participating in the demonstrations and class boycott? What lessons should they learn after the turmoil? With these two questions in mind, I talked with a few Qinghua students and read quite a few articles about their experiences.

Let me quote a short article, "Thoughts After the 50 Days," written by Jiang Feng from the Department of Computer Science, a participant in the hunger strike:

Like many of my schoolmates, I experienced the storm of the 50 days and I even participated in the hunger strike from May 13 to May 19. So I could be said to have taken part with all my heart in what we imagined was a "democratic movement." Two months have passed since the 50 days of turmoil, and my sometimes high and sometimes low emotional state has already calmed down. There has been time to sit down and think about what happened.

The memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang triggered off the students' unrest. But it didn't stop there. When we took to the streets and presented the wreaths, we were surprised to learn that someone had raised the "Seven-Point Petition." At first, I thought it strange. But after it was repeated many times, I felt that the call for opposing official speculators and corruption conformed with our wishes, that the slogan for "accelerated democratization" was just what we have always wanted to say, and that the proposal for "establishing a press law and strengthening public opinion supervision" was also agreed to by the students. We got used to it and we agreed. When the three

students knelt down to present the petition, we also shed our tears for them. When things had come to such a pass, no matter how reasonable and calm a person was, it was hard to suppress a wave of emotion. Once the gate of the emotions was lifted, our action became independent of our already very weak will or of our good intentions. Everybody seemed to have entered another world. We bestirred ourselves at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind or plunged into blind action on hearing a rumour. At this stage, our good intentions could hardly be responsible for ourselves.

After the April 26 editorial was published, I was constantly worried at hearing the phrases of "a very, very small handful of people" and "a small minority of people." I had no idea of who they were meant for. On the contrary, all I saw was upright and sincere schoolmates around me and all I thought of was our irrepressible enthusiasm. We are all only a little over 20, and we cannot claim that we have any political experience or firm political orientation. We are still growing up and we need to be tempered. But over the past few years, the question of our political stance was rarely mentioned and it seemed that "class" had already "disappeared." During the 50 days, I never thought that that small handful of people were none other than our enemy and I never questioned for which class they stood.

After listening to the report by Chen Xitong at the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress, I was shocked. The "very small handful of people" I had been trying to figure out now appeared. The facts in front of us and the obvious contradiction of this turmoil revealed that our naive enthusiasm and intentions are so worthless. It also showed our ignorance, arrogance and childishness. Though I don't want to think of it or admit it, the facts are there and you have to accept them and think about them.

This article truly reveals the thoughts of those students who participated in demonstration, class boycott and hunger strike.

We can see that their original intention stemmed out of their dissatisfaction with official speculators, corruption and the unfair distribution system and that they hoped to speed up China's democratization. These were also the thoughts of many other students whom I talked with.

But why did the development of the situation run counter to their good intentions?

Jiang Feng said he couldn't see during those 50 days that they were being used by a small handful of bad people. The college students were generally very proud of themselves. They thought

they were clearheaded and had an independent mind. They would feel insulted if you told them they were being taken advantage of. Therefore, they didn't want to admit the grim fact that they had been used by bad people. In recent years, the concept of class struggle has disappeared from the mind of the majority of the students—this is a profound lesson they should learn.

After the suppression of the rebellion, they were shocked by the large number of facts that were exposed. Thinking of their past experience during the student movement and the many abnormal phenomena, they realized that they had been used by some bad people.

A student from the Department of Hydroelectrics said that when the hunger strike started on May 13, leaders from the Central Committee and the Beijing Municipal Government, such as Li Tieying, Li Ximing and Chen Xitong, went to the square to talk with the students. But every time they started to talk, they were cut off by some unidentified hecklers. Then they aroused the students to jeer so as to drive the leaders away. At the time he couldn't understand why they did this, since the purpose of the hunger strike was to have the leaders talk with them. Recalling it now, he realized it must be those bad people who were making the disturbance.

He also recalled working as a picket member at the square on May 18. He was standing at the broadcasting station of the AUUS, handing in the articles written by the masses. Those articles handed in which tried to persuade and reason things out with students were immediately thrown away. But when they got some inflammatory article written by some so-called elitist of society, they acted as if they had got a treasure and would broadcast it over and over again. He had thought these people were not "democratic" at all. Now he saw that they had harboured evil intentions from the very beginning.

A student from the Department of Mathematics recalled what an AUUS leader had said, "We have to do as our liaison men tell us." The liaison men were persons with a sophisticated political background who had contact with someone on the Central Committee. Another student from the Department of Computer Science said he once had had contact with the Huacheng Company, a subsidiary of the Stone Company. The company

offered them funds, electric typewriters and copiers on the condition that the students organize a demonstration using the slogans provided by the Stone Company. The AUUS did what they were told on May 25. The slogans included "Wan Li, Welcome Home!" and "Support Zhao Ziyang and overthrow Li Peng!" At that time, the Stone Company, under the direction of its president Wan Runnan, was inciting people of all circles to put pressure on the authorities and make Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, terminate his visit to the U.S. ahead of his schedule and to return to Beijing to convene a Standing Committee meeting for removing Li Peng from office.

The hostile forces both at home and abroad were rampantly using the students to achieve their own goals. At the high tide of the student movement, the students were hot-headed. They took all the "support" they could get, without asking where it came from, unaware that once they took funding from others, they would dance to the latter's baton, consciously or otherwise.

During the movement, there were many posters at Qinghua campus which were out of the category of opposing official profiteering and corruption and the speeding up of democratization. As early as April 19, a poster entitled "Our Purpose and Slogan" talked about renouncing the anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign and opposing the tyranny of the Communist Party. These, in essence, run counter to the Four Cardinal Principles stipulated in the Constitution. Another poster entitled "Public Ownership—Root of Corruption" openly called for the abolition of public ownership and the restoration of capitalism in China. I was told that posters talking about anti-profitteering and corruption did not interest too many students, but those about political programmes attracted a lot of people. Why is that?

The students said they advocated the Party's Four Cardinal Principles, but that since the Party had made some mistakes which slowed down the country's progress and put China behind the advanced countries, they were interested in anything that could make China prosper. It was with this thought in mind that they read the posters.

This made me think that, although quite a number of students had naive patriotic enthusiasm, for some time in the past

they had not been guided by a firm and correct political orientation. Since China opened its door to the outside world, the students had many opportunities to learn about Western culture and ideology. But after they had swallowed this foreign stuff, they could not digest it well. The bourgeois liberal thoughts flowed in through all kinds of channels, such as newspapers, lectures, symposiums and cultural salons. There was talk about the splendiddness of private ownership and the reasonableness of political pluralism. Many people wrongly thought that if China could take these things from the West and apply them in China, our country would become rich and strong. Under such circumstances, it was hard for these students—with their naive patriotism but without a correct political orientation—not to be used by bourgeois liberalizers flaunting the banner of reform.

When I talked the above over with some of the college students they indicated their agreement with me and told me that they had realized the harmfulness of the bourgeois liberalism. This is a lesson every one of us should learn.

Before leaving Qinghua, I visited a professor friend of mine who has taught at Qinghua for over 30 years and was once deputy dean of that university. I sat down in his small room—of which all four walls are lined with bookshelves—chatting with him.

I saw a pile of folders on the low table beside the desk. Inside were his teaching plans of the past years. What caught my attention was the words written in red which included quotations from Marx and Engels and some philosophical mottos.

"You are not a political science teacher. Why did you write these here?" I asked.

"You don't know, my brother," he said to me. "When you teach them knowledge you have to educate them morally. I always tell them the Marxist-Leninist ideas, stands and ways of pursuing their studies."

I know he meant it. He has all along maintained that China's schools should turn out politically conscious and professionally competent students. Those who can get into Qinghua are considered the cream of the nation. His principle is to love them and at the same time set strict demands on them. One of his students with whom I am familiar is a talented young man

devoted to the people and the country. He is one of those from Qinghua with ability and political integrity. This student told me about my professor friend, "When he criticized me, he was merciless. But afterwards, he was always nice to me!"

Another lesson we should draw from this turmoil is that we should always set strict demands on the young people and should not flatter them to no end. Otherwise their innate weaknesses will grow so viciously that they can hardly be brought under control.

Although young people have patriotic enthusiasm, they lack a firm and correct political orientation; they have democratic consciousness, but they lack democratic qualities and the concept of law and discipline; they have a sense of participation, but they lack political experience and the ability to participate in social affairs; they are willing to be independent, but they lack the spirit of self-dissection. In addition, many students are the only child in their families. They were spoiled at an early age and they subconsciously think that they are the "society's favourite," "God's favoured ones," or "the elite of the nation." They think they are always right. A very small number of people with ulterior motives took advantage of the students' weakness and flattered them to high heaven, making them think themselves very superior. This is why some students sank deeper and deeper into the quagmire of errors.

General Secretary Jiang Zemin said in his long speech at Qinghua, "I have repeated many times that you are the future and hope of our motherland. We should be both warm to you young people and set strict demands on you."

In my opinion, students and teachers all over China, as well as those of Qinghua, are willing to accept what he said.

4

Turmoil in Shanghai—a Response to Beijing Turmoil

The Beijing turbulence was not confined to Beijing—it affected the whole country. According to an incomplete statistic, 2.8 million people and students from 600 colleges and universities in 84 cities took to the streets to demonstrate.

The turmoil in Shanghai, China's largest city, was second only to Beijing in scale and influence.

The *World Economic Herald* Makes the First Move

The *World Economic Herald*, a weekly sponsored by the Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai, played an unusual role in this political turbulence. At the beginning of the student unrest, the *World Economic Herald* launched its first attack against the Party Central Committee. After it was criticized and put on the correct course by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, it acted ostentatiously as the “victim” and colluded with the reactionary forces hostile to the government to create a turmoil in response to the one in Beijing.

After Hu Yaobang died on April 15, a handful of schemers took advantage of the students' and people's desire to mourn for Hu to plan, organize and launch a political turmoil. Zhang Weiguo, member of the editorial board of the *World Economic Herald* and head of its resident office in Beijing, wrote in his daily record of work, “Hu Yaobang's death is a favourable turn. It will alter the current situation.” On the same day, Zhang

contacted some people like Ge Yang, editor-in-chief of the Beijing magazine *New Observer*, and Su Shaozhi, a research fellow of the Institute of Marxism and Leninism of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and inquired about "the reactions of personages concerned." Ge Yang said, "Yaobang died of anger. What a way for a reformer to go!" On April 19, the *World Economic Herald* and *New Observer* jointly held a "Symposium in Memory of Comrade Hu Yaobang." Before the symposium, Qin Benli, editor-in-chief of the *World Economic Herald*, gave instructions from Shanghai: "The content must carry a lot of weight. Not just general statements making known where one stands." Participants were carefully chosen.

A few protagonists of bourgeois liberalization spoke at the symposium. Regardless of the facts, they said that Yaobang "had been treated unfairly," that his resignation was a big "tragedy" in the history of the Party and they protested that he was even not given the title of "great Marxist," after his death. They demanded that "a fair re-evaluation be made of Yaobang." They openly tried to reverse the verdict on the movement against spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization, saying that the anti-bourgeois liberalization movement "was not supported" even by people at the grassroots. One person said that "fair appraisal should be made of some of the movements in 1986," and so on and so forth.

When later analyzing the situation at the beginning of the turmoil, Li Peng pointed out,

During this period, the plotters of the turmoil took advantage of the student unrest to put forward a series of political demands of a programmatic nature. Two were predominant: The first was to reappraise Comrade Hu Yaobang—which completely denied the Party Central Committee's decision on Hu Yaobang's resignation in early 1987. The second was to completely deny the movement against bourgeois liberalization and to redress the wrongs of "citizens who had been unfairly treated" in the movement. These two political programmes were put forward explicitly for the first time at the symposium.

Centred on these political demands, the participants openly directed their arguments at Deng Xiaoping and the Party Central Committee. They vilified Deng Xiaoping, saying that he had forgotten the people and was divorced from the people. Yan

Jiaqi put pressure on the Party Central Committee by demanding that it "selflessly admit its own mistakes." "If it doesn't, it will suffer in the near future." Dai Qing, a reporter of *Guangming Daily*, spoke volubly of the seventy-year history of the Chinese Communist Party and of the fates of several Party general secretaries. She said none of the Party general secretaries ever came to a good end, that they were all replaced without normal procedures, hinting that they should give all-out support to Zhao Ziyang. In other words, "Topple Deng and support Zhao."

Some participants in the symposium actively instigated more students and common people to go to the street. They said that "the centripetal force of China" was in Tiananmen Square and that "China's future and hope" were in Tiananmen Square. They, in the capacity of men of learning and celebrity, added fuel to the students' unrest.

Qin Benli, along with some others, did something unusual concerning the symposium. He ordered Zhang Weiguo to collate all the speeches at the symposium so that they could be published in full in the *World Economic Herald*. He decided to print the issue one day ahead of schedule so that the weekly could reach Beijing the day Hu Yaobang's memorial meeting was held. He had previously revealed his plan to reporters from outside China. On April 17, two days before the symposium, an overseas newspaper reported that the *World Economic Herald* would carry the important speeches of the symposium in a special column form.

When the Propaganda Department under the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee got the message from the overseas paper, the person in charge of propaganda on the committee met Qin Benli on the afternoon of April 21, asking to see the issue's final proofs. When this person read the final proofs the next day he had a sincere and serious talk with Qin Benli in which he pointed out that publishing openly in the newspaper ideas which were against official decisions of the Party Central Committee was not allowed according to the rules of propaganda. Moreover, students had taken to the streets. If the speeches were published, it would mislead the public opinion and therefore would not be favourable for stabilizing the situation. Taking the whole situation into account and at the same time cherishing the weekly, he suggested several hundred words be deleted

—mainly the parts of Yan Jiaqi's and Dai Qing's speeches that preached bourgeois liberalization and opposed the Party Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping. But Qin Benli refused. When asked his reason, Qin answered, "I want Deng Xiaoping to make a self-criticism. The earlier he makes a self-criticism, the earlier he will gain the initiative and popular backing. If he makes a self-criticism, we will support him."

Under these circumstances, Jiang Zemin, at that time Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, had a talk with Qin Benli. Jiang criticized Qin, noting that both Qin's viewpoints and his deeds disregarded political, organizational and propaganda discipline. He said that those remarks must be deleted. He asked an elderly comrade who held the post of honorary president of the newspaper to persuade Qin. Finally Qin agreed. But things were not so simple. When he had sent the final proofs to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee for approval, Qin had already ordered the 439th issue of the newspaper printed. At the time he talked with Shanghai leaders, more than 160,000 copies were done. Several hundred copies had already been delivered and some had been sent to Beijing.

When the Shanghai Propaganda Department got the news they had a discussion with Qin Benli, which was held on the afternoon of April 23. They decided that issue 439 of the *World Economic Herald* (edition A for short), which ran remarks supporting bourgeois liberalization, should not be published and a newly edited edition B would be printed. Normally such limited corrections would need only half a day, and the newspaper could still come out on time. But three days passed and edition B of issue 439 had still not gone for printing. During the three days, the Shanghai Propaganda Department telephoned many times to urge its publication, but could not find Qin Benli or the related editors. Now the whole truth has come out. On the evening of April 23 Qin Benli held a meeting of the editorial board. Some members of the board were against publishing edition B and insisted on publishing edition A. At the end of the meeting Qin Benli summarized, "I never thought we were wrong. What they deleted is what our newspaper wants to say." They sent a telegram to Zhang Weiguo, telling him to reveal the information to overseas reporters. On April 24, Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* reported the distorted news that the

World Economic Herald had been "confiscated." On the evening of April 24, Qin Benli again held a meeting of the editorial board and decided to send the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee an emergency report. After the meeting, Qin Benli went to the Cherry Sanatorium to "recuperate." He told Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News* that "Our newspaper will win if we drag on," and that "the incident of the *World Economic Herald* is having an international effect." On the evening of April 24, the editorial department of the *World Economic Herald* sent the emergency report to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. It said that since edition A had evoked strong international reaction and since "sources from Beijing said the Party Central Committee might re-evaluate Comrade Hu Yaobang," they therefore insisted on publishing edition A. They sought to use international and "Beijing's" pressure to force the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to knuckle under to them. The emergency report was written only to inform the committee of their intention to cling to their course.

According to the spirit of the editorial of the *People's Daily* on April 26, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee decided that the *World Economic Herald* needed to be put on the right course and that Qin Benli should be suspended from his duties. Jiang Zemin announced the decision in the afternoon of April 26 at a meeting convened by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and attended by 10,000 Party members and cadres in response to the *People's Daily* editorial "Take a Clear-Cut Stand Against Turmoil." He said, "At present, some people intend to use overseas media to put pressure on us. No way. They cannot shake our determination to safeguard stability and unity." The audience burst into thunderous applause.

That Qin Benli and some leaders of the *World Economic Herald* persisted in their errors about publishing issue 439 of the newspaper is not an accidental mistake, but has a historical origin.

The *World Economic Herald* was founded in 1980. In its early years, the newspaper published some good articles about China's policy of reform and opening to the outside world and gave the government useful suggestions. As a result, it was welcomed by readers. However, under the influence of the international and domestic climate, Qin Benli and his like first sympathized

with, then pandered to and finally encouraged bourgeois liberalization.

In recent years, the *World Economic Herald* has actively advocated private ownership. Looking over the newspaper, one can easily find these sorts of headlines: "State Ownership Has Come to an End Worldwide," "The Wave of Private Ownership Has Swept Across the World," "Where Will State Ownership Go?" "Making State Property Private: Trends and Choices of China's Economic Reform," etc. The newspaper also covered a so-called "seminar on the crisis of state ownership." It said that "state ownership has come to its last period—its negation.... Private management is the way out in future.... All plans have been tried except private ownership—the simplest, the most effective plan which has been proved by over a hundred countries and has a history of several thousand years." The newspaper called these remarks "absolutely true" and "original."

For some time the newspaper published, one after another, articles castigating the Communist Party, such as "The division of power is the principle of political reform," "Whether political pluralism and checks and balance exist is the fundamental mark of success or failure in the reform" and "Economic pluralism is the basis of political pluralism and of modern political parties." These implied that people engaged in the private economy should have their own political groups and parties. They were moulding public opinion for establishing opposition parties in China.

When he talked to an overseas reporter, Qin Benli said, "The Party's leadership must be toned down.... That the Party exercises leadership in everything must be changed." When he was criticized for these remarks, he insisted, "I still don't think that the Party should exercise leadership in everything. Can the Party exercise leadership over the sun?"

China's economy was overheated since 1986. In September 1988, in view of certain grave mistakes in economic work, the Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed the policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform. People who were keen on bourgeois liberalization, especially Zhao Ziyang's brain trusters, sensed that things were far from good. Through domestic and

international mass media, they actively opposed the Party's new policy and spread information about the moves to "topple Deng and protect Zhao."

The *World Economic Herald*, which had close relations with Zhao Ziyang's brain trust, published many articles, saying that the improvement and rectification would result in stagnation of the economy and a reversal of reform. They criticized Li Peng's "Report on Government Work" delivered at the second session of Seventh NPC, saying that the report discussed only improvement and rectification instead of reform. In early 1989, the *World Economic Herald* reprinted in full a "Dialogue About the Current Situation" between Yan Jiaqi and Wen Yuankai, which had originally been printed in Beijing's *Economic Weekly*. In the "Dialogue," Yan Jiaqi said, "I think we should speak frankly about worries about China's future. Replacement without going through proper procedures shouldn't happen again, just as it did to Khrushchev and Liu Shaoqi." The "Dialogue" was meant to cover up Zhao Ziyang's mistakes, protecting him so that he could flagrantly carry out bourgeois liberalization.

The *World Economic Herald* took an active part in moulding public opinion for the student unrest well before it started. That this incident with the *World Economic Herald* occurred soon after was a small wonder.

Beijing's Wind Brings Rain to Shanghai

Beijing was the centre of the turmoil and Shanghai was the branch. The plotters, organizers and directors of the turmoil in Beijing and Shanghai, through different channels, instigated Shanghai to "take joint action with Beijing." These channels included the four Beijing institutions with a concentration of Zhao Ziyang's brain trusters (namely the China Research Institute for Reform of the Economic System, the Research Institute of Development of the Agricultural Research Centre under the State Council, the Research Institute for International Affairs of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, and the Beijing Young Economist Society); the Beijing resident office of the *World Economic Herald*; the AUUS in Shanghai and Beijing; and the "exchange of experience" between the students in the

north and south. It is no exaggeration to say that, throughout the whole course of the turmoil, no sooner a wind blew up in Beijing than a shower came in Shanghai.

At the beginning of the student unrest, slogans like "Down with the Bureaucratic Government" "Down with the Corrupt Government" and "Down with Autocracy" appeared in Beijing's colleges and universities. Students in Shanghai soon followed suit. Immediately after the April 26th editorial was published, under Fang Lizhi and company's instruction, the AUUS in Beijing issued "Order No. 1," telling students to change the above slogans to "Oppose Bureaucracy, Oppose Corruption, Oppose Privilege." At the same time the Shanghai Federation of University Students put up a notice in Fudan University which told students to shout slogans against price hikes and official profiteering instead of slogans like "Down with Bureaucratic Government."

At the beginning of the student unrest and turmoil, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the municipal government announced, on April 17, that people should be aware that "evil people might seize every opportunity to exaggerate matters and provoke incidents and carry out sabotage." Cadres and teachers of all the 51 colleges and universities and people of various walks of life in Shanghai did a lot of persuasions among the students, thereby enabling the authorities to seize the initiative in their own hands. Previous to May 4, of the 130,000 students in the 51 colleges and universities, only four or five thousand students from three universities took to the streets. School order was basically normal. But after Zhao Ziyang made his speech at the annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank on May 4, the situation changed for the worse. The students who had stayed in school and the cadres and teachers who had tried to persuade students not to demonstrate felt discouraged. Jiaotong University, for example, had been calm before May 4. After students heard Zhao's speech, they said, "The demonstration is a patriotic movement. Are we unpatriotic since we didn't demonstrate?" The plotters and organizers of the turmoil, sensing that they had supporters on the Party Central Committee, were emboldened and became more unscrupulous.

Shanghai's student unrest of this period had two characteristics: First, it followed Beijing closely and echoed it. Second, the

students and the *World Economic Herald* supported each other. On the afternoon of May 10, leaders of the Shanghai AUUS plotted to organize a "petition delegation to Beijing" of Shanghai university students. On April 11, they held a press conference at Fudan University, saying that the major task of the petition delegation was to "question the State Council about what mistakes the *World Economic Herald* has made, about what it means for an editor-in-chief to be responsible for a paper, etc." After the petition delegation arrived in Beijing, they immediately contacted Wang Youcai, head of the Beijing AUUS. To strengthen its contact with the Beijing AUUS, the Shanghai AUUS had a liaison man posted in Beijing, who sent Beijing's information to Shanghai, and vice versa, every day. After that, information about the Shanghai students' actions could be found regularly in the Triangular Area on Beijing University's campus.

On May 15, when Shanghai students learned from students just back from their petitioning in Beijing that students in Beijing had begun a hunger strike on May 13, they took two measures in response. First, five members of the petition delegation should join the hunger strike in Tiananmen Square, while the other members went on with their liaison work, making speeches and presenting petitions in Beijing. Second, Fudan University, East China Teachers University and Tongji University should put up posters calling upon Shanghai students to begin a hunger strike. In the evening of May 16 a "hunger strike corps of Shanghai students" was established and fifty students began a hunger strike in front of the Shanghai Municipal Government building. On the following three days the number of hunger strikers reached over three hundred.

At the same time, swarms of university students from Shanghai went to Beijing to get in touch with Beijing students and join the hunger strike on Tiananmen Square. One hundred and two students from Shanghai Industrial University alone went to Beijing. On the afternoon of May 19, Wang Youcai told a Shanghai student leader over the telephone that Li Peng would make a speech in the evening to declare martial law in Beijing. He said that the information came from above and was absolutely reliable. Taking its cue from the Beijing AUUS, the Shanghai AUUS decided to tone down Shanghai's hunger strike. In the evening the Party Central Committee held a meeting of cadres

from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing. A few people of the Shanghai AUUS concluded that their scheme to aggravate the turmoil through hunger strike had failed. They told the hunger strikers to withdraw. Then they took more fierce actions and escalated the turmoil in Shanghai by whipping up an adverse current aimed at opposing the enforcement of martial law in Beijing and overthrowing the legitimate government.

First, they organized a succession of massive demonstrations. On May 21 and 22, a few people from Shanghai's universities had meetings in Fuxing Park. They decided to organize students from various universities to go to the street alternately. They stated that their "short-term goal is to force Li Peng to step down" and their long-term goal is "to create a multi-Party system."

On May 23, a leader of the Autonomous Union of the East China Teachers University said to an audience of a thousand in the university's Gongqing Square, "Now the students in Beijing are tired. We should share their burden and shift the focus of the students' movement to Shanghai." On the same day, the "Southern Propaganda Corps of the Beijing AUUS" and a "special mission" arrived in Shanghai. Zhao Wenli, head of the "Southern Propaganda Corps," made instigating speeches at Shanghai Industrial University, Shanghai Railway College, Fudan University and Jiaotong University, cursing the Party and state leaders. She said, "'Till the time Li Peng steps down, every day we'll come around.' I hope the Shanghai students will fight to the end. Resuming classes would be a betrayal to Beijing." After that, her remarks were the Shanghai students' "unifying slogan." They went out to demonstrate for nine days straight.

Second, in order to act in concert with a few people in Beijing, they plotted to convene an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee to abrogate the martial law order and dismiss Li Peng. For this purpose, the heads of the autonomous unions of Fudan University, East China Teachers University, Tongji University and Jiaotong University held a denunciation meeting in People's Square on the afternoon of May 25. They said that "Now that Wan Li is in Shanghai, we want to let him know that Shanghai students are not satisfied. We demand that an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee and the

Party Central Committee be convened as soon as possible so as to remove Li Peng and rectify the name of the student movement." In the evening, the autonomous union of Jiaotong University held a meeting attended by an audience of 2,500. A teacher of the Shanghai Educational Institute gave a speech entitled "The Situation and Countermeasures After Wan Li Has Returned from Abroad" which instigated students to "form an extensive political force by appealing for the convening of NPC Standing Committee.... Citizens and students should have their own representatives to attend the meeting. This is their right.... Students should talk with NPC Standing Committee members so that they know the truth about the student movement," etc. At the same time, someone from Fudan University wrote to the local people's congress standing committees of China's 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, calling upon the "standing committee members immediately to come to Beijing" and force a "government reshuffling."

Third, to support the small number of people in Beijing who were preventing martial law troops from entering the city, they blocked up the roads and sabotaged the economy in Shanghai. They held several secret meetings and decided that "once Shanghai is under military control, we will stop traffic so that no one can go to work." In the small hours of May 22, an autonomous union leader at East China Teachers University spread a rumour that "troops will take military control of Shanghai at five this morning." He led six or seven thousand students to occupy the five bridges on the Suzhou River at four o'clock, blocking up traffic on the five north-south main streets for more than two hours. At four o'clock of May 24, 1,500 students from Fudan University sat-in on the five major roads and stopped traffic for more than four hours. At the same time, the Shanghai AUUS sent students to major factories to instigate workers to go on strike. But cadres and workers in these factories resisted their instigation.

Fourth, they organized a general class boycott to resist Li Peng's suggestion that they "resume classes without preconditions." Thanks to patient persuasions by leaders and teachers of universities, the majority of students had resumed classes and a small number of people felt that things were not good. On the afternoon of May 28, according to instructions of Tiananmen

Square Student Demonstration Headquarters, the Shanghai AUUS organized ten thousand students to hold a rally and demonstrate in the People's Square to support the so-called "demonstrations of Chinese all over the world." Members of Beijing's "Southern Propaganda Corps" made speeches. A Shanghai AUUS leader announced, "From now on, university students in Shanghai will leave school for home." On May 29 the Shanghai AUUS sent to the 51 colleges and universities in Shanghai a "notice of evacuating the school," saying that "an empty school is the most thoroughgoing class boycott.... It is the strongest protest against and a silent denial of Li Peng's 'resume class without preconditions'.... It is a wonderful interlude in the patriotic democratic movement." And it said that emptying the universities "will enlarge the influence of this democratic movement as a sower sows seeds."

Within a few days the movement to empty the universities affected most universities. In many universities students, except those of the graduating class, left school for home.

Involvement by Various Forces

The student unrest in Shanghai turned quickly into a turmoil. This is because many people with ulterior motives had got involved in it. Shanghai was the "paradise for adventurers" in old China; and it was also home to the "Gang of Four." Found there are people who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos; there are people who cling to bourgeois liberalization and political conspiracy; there are still remnants of the "Gang of Four." From the beginning of the student unrest, these people could not hold back their excitement. They believed that "this is a good chance, it will change the current situation." So they eagerly threw in their lot with the turbulence. Starting from April 23, when the *World Economic Herald* got involved, the turmoil spread to the whole society.

The *World Economic Herald* was the source of the turmoil in Shanghai. One of its staff said, "The *World Economic Herald* should play a leading role in the student unrest. We should hold up our flag and study how to change China's system." Using the "incident of the *World Economic Herald*," they held several "news

briefings," instigating students and journalists to support their newspaper so as to "keep their pressures on their government alive for a long time." Its agency in Beijing sent information about Beijing's turmoil to Shanghai, such as what the turmoil makers' tasks were to be, what main trends there were in Beijing, what Yan Jiaqi and Fang Lizhi said and what different opinions the central Party leaders had about the turmoil and the *World Economic Herald*. Then some people of the newspaper would spread the information by printing the materials and sending them out, making speeches in universities and contacting organizers of the turmoil. The *World Economic Herald* was deeply involved in the turmoil. The head of an illegal student organization at Fudan University once wrote to thank the leaders of the *World Economic Herald* for their "precious instruction," and a Shanghai AUUS leader also said, "Refer to the *World Economic Herald* for the latest news and theoretical guidance"—these have shed some light on the extent to which the *World Economic Herald* entangled itself in the turmoil in Shanghai.

A small number of people from Shanghai's mass media, cultural and educational circles who clung to bourgeois liberalization, who had close relations with foreign political forces and who were tied in one way or another with the plotters and organizers of Beijing's turmoil also came out into the open and played their roles actively in the Shanghai turmoil.

Wang Ruowang (a writer, expelled from the Party in 1987) was a representative of bourgeois liberalization. During Shanghai's turmoil he took to the streets several times and gave many interviews to overseas reporters. He published many articles in overseas newspapers to support the turmoil. At the beginning of the student unrest, he said happily, "We have a good game to watch. The day I have been looking forward to has come." He also commented that, "The May 4th Movement anniversary is still far ahead, and yet a big wave has been whipped up now, in April! This movement is more mature than the student movement in 1986. I am sure it will be a nationwide movement. It will bring us a new turn." After the *People's Daily* printed its editorial on April 26, Wang Ruowang wrote an article for a periodical in Hong Kong, saying that the editorial was a "notice of the CPC leaders courting their own ruin." In mid-May when some of the students in Beijing and Shanghai began their hunger

strike, Wang Ruowang said, "I am not only the forefather of bourgeois liberalization, but the forefather of the hunger strike as well. I have gone on hunger strike four times in my life." In one demonstration he wore two bands. The one on his chest read "It is sad to be iron-hearted" and the other on his back read "Save the country, save the people, save the students." Wang Ruowang also said, "Some are worried what will happen if the Communist Party together with their cadres is overthrown. No need for such worries. Yan Jiaqi and Fang Lizhi are politicians. Now we have many young capable successors like Wang Dan. And there's Zhao Ziyang too." He also thought of a list of future government leaders: "When the student movement wins victory, they will form a council of intellectuals. Then a national congress will be convened, the constitution will be amended and a united government will be organized."

A small number of people who clung to bourgeois liberalization, headed by Wang Ruowang, incited those people who did not know the truth to take to the streets and added fuel to the fire. A number of people from the press, and theoretical research and mass organizations and a few Party and government institutions also took to the streets. All kinds of "letters of appeal" and "open letters" were put up. At the instigation of Wang Ruowang, some people from the Shanghai Writers' Association wrote "a letter of appeal to the PENs of every country" and "an open telegram to the Chinese Writers' Association and the people," intending to put pressure on the Party and government through public opinion at home and abroad. For a while, reactionary viewpoints of every description were spread, demagogic political rumours were disseminated and anarchic actions sabotaging democracy and the legal system happened everywhere. Normal order in production and daily life in the city was disrupted.

During the turmoil, a few Communists who held important Party and government positions in Shanghai openly opposed the Party Central Committee. After the meeting of cadres from the Party, government and military institutions on May 19, Qin Benli drafted a "Shanghai Party Members' Open Letter to the Party Central Committee," which, echoing the three research institutes and the BYES in Beijing, demanded the Party Central Committee convene an emergency meeting to "revoke Li Peng's

May 19 speech, deny the *People's Daily* editorial of April 26 and lift press controls immediately." They printed several hundred copies of the letter and sent them to universities, factories and mass media, cultural and theoretical circles to solicit signatures. The majority of Party members in Shanghai refused to sign the letter, criticizing it as a move intended to create confusion throughout the country. However, the organizers of the turmoil published the news in a Hong Kong newspaper together with some signatures. This exerted a very bad influence at home and abroad.

During the turmoil, some remnants of the routed "Gang of Four" got swelled-headed. They said, "It's really exciting to see such a situation," "What is happening is a 'cultural revolution!'" and so on and so forth. They congratulated each other that "there will be a change of the dynasty." And they predicted that, "The day is coming when we can hold up our heads." They used every means to support and instigate the people to make trouble. According to rough estimate, thirty-five former elements of the "Gang of Four" became active during the turmoil. Of these, eleven openly instigated workers to down tools.

During the turmoil, the scums of society in Shanghai formed fourteen illegal organizations one after another, which later became the so-called "Shanghai Autonomous Union of Workers" (SAUW). They put forth the organizational programme: "Organize workers to stage strikes, establish our own armed forces, overthrow Li Peng's government and overthrow the socialist system." They colluded with the AUUS in Shanghai, banding together thugs and hooligans to parade, make speeches, distribute inflammatory handouts and spread rumours.

Let's have a look at what they did.

—On May 18, amid a hullabaloo of supporting students, the flag of the "Allied Supporting Corps of Shanghai Workers" appeared on the People's Square. Four of the organizers of this illegal organization had a criminal record: One had been sentenced to three years in prison for theft, one to three years in prison for hooliganism, one to one year in an education-through-labour camp for raping a little girl and the fourth one had been sued for hooliganism. They organized ten demonstrations and sit-ins. One of these, involving a thousand people, was held when they were told that Jiang Zemin would meet with

Gorbachev in Shanghai Exhibition Hall.

—On May 19, a man who identified himself as the grandson of Wang Zhen, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China, made reactionary speeches in front of the building of the Shanghai Municipal Government at the Bund. His real name was Cai Chaojun. He had been previously detained thrice and sent to labour camp once and was now the "C-in-C" of the Autonomous Union of Shanghai Workers. Their political programme was to "overthrow the corrupt government and the socialist system." He made reactionary speeches many times at the Bund, People's Square and Fudan University.

—On May 23, a loudspeaker station called "the voice of democracy and freedom" appeared in the People's Square. It spread news from the Voice of America and made up rumours to attack the government and socialism. The head of the station was an active criminal named Zhu Fuming. On May 15, Zhu got acquainted with a woman while they were playing mahjong and had an affair with her. When the woman told him she had foreign currency, it occurred to him to kill her. When they met again three days after, he strangled the woman to death and took away her dollars and property. A couple of days later, he cycled to the People's Square to shout "defend the Constitution, fight for democracy."

—On May 24, a so-called "Supporting Corps of Shanghai Patriotic Workers" appeared at the docks opposite the buildings of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions. The head of the organization had once been detained for selling gold illegally and its vice-head had been investigated for swindling. After the counterrevolutionary rebellion took place in Beijing on June 3, Yan Tinggui, an important member of the organization, who had been punished twice for gambling and hooliganism, suggested kidnapping the directors of every big factory in Shanghai and forcing them to give orders to go on strike.

—On June 7, the so-called "Autonomous Supporting Corps of Shanghai Workers" held a secret meeting to put up a last-ditch struggle. Police arrested the participants. Their head, nicknamed "Dragon King of the Sea," had been sentenced to reform through labour for one year. Three other key members of this organization had criminal records.

Huangpu District and the railway station were areas where

the turmoil raged the fiercest. According to statistics of the Huangpu Public Security Sub-bureau and the Railway Public Security Sub-bureau, respectively 46% and 50% of the criminals arrested by their officers during the turmoil had a criminal record.

These dregs of society had a strong mind set for revenge. They sneaked into the ranks of university students and made up rumours and were involved in beating, smashing, looting and burning. They wanted to overthrow the People's Republic led by the Communist Party. It is a tragedy that the self-important university students allied with the dregs of society.

Workers' Pickets Start Out

When news of the Party Central Committee and the State Council having resolutely put down the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing, in the evening of June 3, reached Shanghai, the organizers, plotters and leaders of the turmoil in Shanghai were frightened. Some went into hiding; some fled; others, like gamblers shorn of their money, went to the extreme.

In the first few days after the rebellion, people could hardly get any information about it. The organizers of the turmoil spread rumours in Shanghai to distort the truth of the suppression. From the small hours of June 4 on, leaflets and small-character posters could be found everywhere on the street, especially copies of the so-called "Truth About the Suppression in Beijing" from Hong Kong newspapers. The xerox machines in Jiaotong University's library were used for this purpose. Copies of the news and pictures from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Western newspapers, with rumours such as "Tiananmen Bloodshed," "An Open Factional Fight Within the PLA" and "38th Army Turned Its Coat," were put up for days on end on the newspaper board of the World Economic Herald Press in front of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. At the instigation of a small number of people, a "propaganda team" of university students went to the streets to spread rumours with portable loudspeakers. The "Autonomous Union" of Fudan University organized students to broadcast funeral music through tweeters in front of Shanghai Municipal Government

and some newspaper offices.

The organizers of the turmoil, out of desperation, quickened their sabotage. They blocked up traffic to prevent people from going to work. They intended to throw Shanghai into chaos by paralyzing its economy. The Shanghai AUUS held two emergency meetings in the afternoon and evening of June 4 and decided to take united action at four the next morning to stop traffic. According to incomplete statistics, from June 4 to June 8, 23 streets were blocked up and 6,000 motor vehicles were forced to stop and used as roadblocks. Sixteen vehicles were turned upside down, smashed or burned. The rioters also smashed or flattened the tyres of 1,223 vehicles, including 1,017 public buses. They slept on the railway to stop trains. Eleven railway junctions including the one on Guangxin Road were occupied and blocked. The Shanghai-Ningbo and Shanghai-Hangzhou railway lines were blocked up for nearly 50 hours, halting service on 281 cargo and passenger trains scheduled during that time. In the evening of June 6, a riot occurred at Guangxin railway junction. At that time, nine cars were burnt and 170 policemen and railway workers were beaten up, causing a direct loss of 5.7 million yuan.

They had thought that the three days of forced strike among the factory and commercial workers complete with their demagogic propaganda would induce the workers to stop work of their own accord. The results, however, were contrary to their wishes. Given the truth of Beijing's suppression, the Shanghai people, especially the workers, gradually sided with the Party and government and became more and more discontented with the organizers of the turmoil. The plotters of the turmoil held a meeting and decided to change strategy. They sent people to factories to force workers to go on strike. They believed that "the pressure of one-day strike of workers equals the pressure of ten-day sit-in of students." From June 7 on, students went to the Jiangnan Shipyard, Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant, Dazhonghua Rubber Factory, Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex and Shanghai Diesel Engine Factory to instigate workers to go on strike. But they were refused.

During this period a small number of plotters and organizers of the turmoil resorted to terrorism. They told university students to "make and purchase weapons" to fight an "armed

struggle" against the Party and government. On June 5 and June 6, big-character posters were put up in Fudan University, Shanghai Science and Technology University and East China Chemical Industry College inciting students to resort to terrorism. One poster read, "Cast away your illusions, take up arms and fight the bogus government to the end." It continued, "Make weapons, organize operation groups, destroy the luxury cars of the bureaucrats, wound and kill leading officers of the bogus army and police, and sabotage military equipment." They said, "Either our enemy march with our bodies under their feet, or we march with our enemy's bodies under our feet." Some people in Fudan University, Tongji University, Jiaotong University, East China Teachers University and Shanghai Foreign Trade College incited students to produce incendiary bottles, grenades and chemical weapons to blow up gas stations and chemical plants. Some students of Tongji University purchased some fruit knives and watermelon knives. On June 5, some students from Shanghai Industrial University stopped a repair truck, smashed its glass, destroyed its engine, took away tools and finally turned it upside down. On June 7 in Jiangwan, some students and hooligans set a No. 75 public bus on fire.

On the evening of June 8 Mayor Zhu Rongji delivered a speech on television. He asked all citizens to stabilize Shanghai, stabilize the situation and persist in production to ensure a normal life. Response to his speech was positive. Citizens considered his speech practical and to the point and that measures to be taken were strong enough.

Mayor Zhu said,

These days everybody has realized that Shanghai has come to a dangerous moment.... Many comrades have asked me to employ armed police, even troops. I, as Mayor, solemnly tell you here: First, the municipal Party committee and government have never thought of employing troops or declaring martial law. Second, we believe that 99.9 of Shanghai citizens will unite and stand on the same side with the Party and government under the slogan "Stabilize Shanghai, stabilize the situation, persist in production to ensure a normal life." Third, Shanghai is the biggest industrial city in China. We have the strongest working class in the country. Of the 5,080,000 staff members, 2,300,000 are industrial workers. So long as they are organized to support and help us, our public security personnel

and policemen will be able to safeguard the legal system and public order.

Zhu Rongji said that tens of thousands of workers had been organized into pickets to clear roadblocks, put the traffic situation in order and ensure normal order.

At last he said sincerely,

Citizens, I am the Mayor you legally elected, and was approved by the Party Central Committee and the State Council. Thank you for trusting me and supporting me for more than one year. I will do my best to work in the interests of the majority of citizens. Though there is still room for improvement in my work, I am determined to devote my life to the great cause of rejuvenating Shanghai and the Chinese nation. At this critical moment, I pledge, with my life, to achieve the goal of stabilizing Shanghai, stabilizing the situation and safeguarding the people.

The majority of citizens were deeply touched by Zhu Rongji's speech. In the same evening, a hundred thousand workers' pickets, together with cadres and citizens, went to the streets and removed four or five thousand vehicles on 200 intersections. By 4:40 the next morning, all roadblocks were cleared away. The city's 155 public bus and trolley lines resumed operation at five a.m. Workers' pickets, standing at every intersection alongside public security officers and policemen, safeguarded traffic order. Peace came back to Shanghai. Pedestrians clapped their hands and held up their thumbs—seeming to say, "The working class is really powerful."

The turmoil in Shanghai had been ended quickly with the help of workers mainly because—and this is the decisive factor—the martial law enforcement troops had suppressed the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing, and in so doing they had abolished the source of a nationwide turmoil and posed a great menace to the small number of rioters in Shanghai. The Shanghai rioters had been following the actions of their fellow travellers in Beijing. Once their "headquarters" in Beijing was destroyed, they became vulnerable.

5

Retrospections After the Storm

The fifty-day turbulence in Beijing, starting on April 15, when the first wreath for Hu Yaobang appeared at Tiananmen Square, and ending on June 4, when the last throng of people occupying the square was cleared out, was finally put down. From June 4 on, the situation in Beijing as well as in all other parts of the country has become more stable day by day.

People are now drawing lessons from different angles from this painful experience.

Why Were So Many People Involved in the Turmoil?

The most popular topic for discussion is why so many people were involved in the turmoil.

During the turbulence, demonstrations took place in 84 medium- and large-sized cities, in which quite a number of intellectuals participated in addition to students.

Now it is well-known by all that the turmoil was plotted, organized and instigated by a handful of people in a vain attempt to subvert the People's Government and establish a bourgeois republic in China. The question, however, is how this handful of people could incite such a vast number of students and intellectuals.

Objectively, we have made great achievements attracting worldwide attention during the forty years since the founding of New China, and the fruits China has achieved in its recent ten-year reform and opening to the outside world have put China in the foremost ranks amongst the socialist countries.

Why, then, did such a large-scale and long-lasting turmoil take place in China, of all the countries?

Looking at the whole course of the turmoil, the political aim of the instigators, clearly enough, was to oppose the government under the leadership of the Communist Party. But how could so many people involved in the turmoil attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and government? Of course the dregs of society who took advantage of the riot to beat, smash, loot, burn and kill during the turbulence had a deep-seated hatred for the Communist Party and government. Most of the students, residents and intellectuals on the other hand are quite different from them.

There are indeed deep economic, political, social and ideological causes which could enable such a tiny handful of people to instigate the turmoil. Such a complicated situation resulted from the objective domestic and international social background, and the specific mistakes made by the Party and government.

People's Grievances Against Corruption

I'd like to begin with the corruption, hated by almost everybody.

On May 18, several central leaders went to a hospital to see the students on hunger strike who were being treated there. One of the students excitedly made some remarks. His main points were as follows: China has four big problems. First is the large population, second is the comparatively few natural resources, third is the low level of education, and fourth is the low level of economic development. The situation in China, according to him, is a hot potato for any party in power. He said: "The reality shows that no any other political force can take the place of the Communist Party in China. But now people have lost confidence in the Party. This is because the Party has made serious mistakes in its work, resulting in such problems as corruption, official profiteering and special treatment for the children of senior officials. We hope that the Chinese Communist Party will rejuvenate itself and lead us in building the country for a better future. To regain the people's confidence in

the Party, it is imperative to begin with members of the Party Central Committee and take vigorous measures to punish corruption and official profiteering. If there are problems involving their own children, they should set an example and take the necessary measures to punish them....” Then he asked the leaders whether they agreed with him. Qiao Shi and other leaders nodded and shook hands with him, saying, “Well said!”

Many who had watched the video show of the central leaders’ visit said the remarks made by the student were fine. According to a young university teacher, what the student had said represented the viewpoint of most students.

Many supporters of the student unrest shared the same idea: “Many complaints of corruption and official profiteering made by the people have been lost upon the government; now let the students provoke the government to take measures!”

It was quite successful for the plotters of the turmoil to put forth slogans opposing corruption and official profiteering, and although these slogans merely served as a foil, they were very inciteful. This is one of the most important reasons why so many people became involved in the turbulence.

Here is a personal experience of mine which can explain something.

I once bitterly attacked the corruption of the society as well as the weakness of the government in dealing with it, at a seminar on current affairs held between March and April. In the old society, we had joined the revolutionary ranks to oppose the corruption and moral degeneration of the KMT government, and now we surely can’t stand the People’s Government’s not taking effective measures to oppose corruption. Therefore, my remarks inevitably went to extremes and drew the attention of the attendants at the seminar. That is, of course, a normal phenomenon.

The turmoil, however, took place soon afterwards. I realized that the students were manipulated and guided by some people behind the scenes, and thus, at another seminar, I advised the attendants not to be naive and criticized the extremist activities of the students. Later I was told that quite a number of people had complained about me and said, “How come he changes his opinions so soon? Not long ago he opposed corruption strongly and now he even criticizes the student unrest. How extraordi-

nary!"

I also felt amazed by this kind of complaint. Must people with complaints against corruption necessarily sympathize with the student unrest? Must opponents of the student unrest necessarily tolerate corruption? Finally I realized that the reason why those who had complained about me sympathized with the students was because they believed that the motive for the student unrest was to oppose nothing but corruption and official profiteering. They really simplified the complicated class struggle.

At the conference of chiefs from various organization departments around the country, Song Ping, the newly elected member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, made the following pertinent remarks: "During this turbulence, one of the most important reasons enabling a handful of people to hoodwink and incite such a vast number of the masses is the fact that corruption did exist inside the Party. It is for this reason that a number of people had lost confidence in the Party and government. We must learn the lessons of experiences and make up our minds to solve this problem." (August 22, 1989, Xinhua News Agency)

Along with the great progress brought about as a result of the policy of reforms and opening to the outside world in recent years, such social problems as corruption, official profiteering, inflation, price rises and unequal distribution appeared. There are many complicated reasons for the occurrence of these problems, which had aroused strong resentment amongst the masses. The Party and government had made great efforts to solve them. Although we had made some impact upon the situation, we hadn't made much headway generally. Why? This had something to do with the former General Secretary Zhao Ziyang. He believed that corruption was an inevitable phenomenon as a consequence of the commercial economy. He tried to defend profiteering engaged in by the children of the senior officials saying that they were ordinary citizens with equal rights to engage in commercial business, and therefore they should not be discriminated against... I was disgusted with what he said at that time. Yes, they are citizens, but they are different from ordinary citizens. They enjoy more favourable conditions for doing business than ordinary citizens. The Party and govern-

ment's misappraisal of Zhao Ziyang prevented them from taking vigorous measures to punish corrupt officials or their relatives.

Since the turbulence, the Party and government have learnt some serious lessons and have begun to take earnest measures to oppose corruption (although the instigators of the turmoil had already put forth slogans opposing corruption just as a foil). While the Party and government had all along sought to solve the problem, these slogans did reflect the heartfelt wishes of the people.

Between July 27 and 28, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting at which it pledged to accomplish seven tasks which are all of great concern to the Chinese people in the near future. The tasks are: 1) Further clear up and reorganize companies; 2) Resolutely prevent the children of senior officials from engaging in commercial activities; 3) Cancel the "special supply" of a small variety of foodstuffs to leading officials; 4) Central leaders will all use Chinese cars and import of sedans is strictly forbidden; 5) Strictly forbid entertaining private guests and purchasing gifts with public funds; 6) Strictly limit leading officials' visits to foreign countries; 7) Severely punish criminals involved in corruption, bribe-taking and profiteering, especially big and key cases. (*People's Daily*, July 29, 1989)

This decision has received much welcome. Firstly, the decision makes clear and specific stipulations regarding these problems which have aroused most popular resentment with respect of creating a clean government and other issues in recent years. Secondly, primary emphasis is placed on the members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and leaders of the State Council. This is the problem which the vast masses, including the student on hunger strike who, as earlier cited, made intelligent remarks at the hospital, are most concerned and anxious about. People feel hopeful now because they can see that the Party Central Committee has demonstrated its determination to set an example in creating a clean government for the future. Thus, we may ask whether or not the phenomenon of corruption and the mistakes made by the Party and government represent the root cause of the turmoil.

In my view, these can only be regarded as an important factor accounting for the large numbers of masses involved in the

turmoil, but they should not be considered as the root cause of the turmoil itself.

Although the Communist Party should never have become corrupt according to its principles, the Chinese Communist Party in power had been free of such kinds of corruption for a long time. It is only in recent years that the corruption cropped up inside the Party, and the masses, of course, hated it bitterly. But, the corruption inside the Party had not in fact developed to such an incurable level as to require the complete overthrow of the Party. The people still hoped that the Party and government will take vigorous and effective measures to eliminate all corruption and official profiteering within the Party and government and rejuvenate the working style of the Party so as to regain the trust of the masses. .

During the development of the turbulence, the Party and government claimed time and again that they took the same stand as the vast masses of patriotic students with regard to eliminating all corruption and official profiteering. The fact that the Party and government have taken vigorous measures in creating a clean government in the aftermath of the storm demonstrate that the Party and government have been in earnest. Given that there is no root contradiction between the two sides, why should the turbulence have become increasingly serious? In view of this fact, it should thus become clear that corruption could not have been the root cause of the turbulence.

Ideological Trend of Bourgeois Liberalization

The root cause of the turbulence was the outcome of the prolonged effects of the influx of the bourgeois-liberalization ideological trend into China.

The term "liberalization" comes from the West. From 1953 to 1957, John Foster Dulles, then the Secretary of State of the United States, declared in his speeches that the policy of the United States was to promote the liberalization in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries.

The Chinese people oppose Dulles' "liberalization," which aims to subvert socialist China. To modify "liberalization" with the term "bourgeois" is to distinguish between the definitions of

liberty offered by the capitalists, on the one hand, and the proletariat on the other. Real liberty which does not violate the legal system does not have to be opposed.

The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is the negation of socialism and the advocacy of capitalism. The emergence and development of the trend is long-standing.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in late 1978, the emphasis of the work of the Party and the state was shifted to the socialist modernization. The people who had tasted to the full the turbulence of the ten-year "cultural revolution" yearned for a political situation of stability and unity favourable to the prosecution of normal construction. From 1979 to 1989, however, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization continuously disturbed the policy of reform and opening to the outside world. Disturbances of this sort arose four times. The seriousness of the ideological confusion and harm they caused escalated from time to time, culminating in the nationwide turmoil between spring and summer of 1989.

The trend first arose in early 1979, when the Party and government were negating the turbulent ten-year "cultural revolution" and criticized the mistakes made by Mao Zedong in his late years. Some people seized the opportunity to whip up an unhealthy trend towards opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and negating the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. Raising the banners of "democracy, liberty and human rights," they incited demonstrations, assaulted Zhongnanhai, established illegal organizations and put out illegal publications. A wall in the Xidan area in Beijing became the centre of their reactionary big-character and small-character posters and slogans. The "Xidan Democracy Wall" became a forum for them to state their bourgeois liberalist views. A "China Human Rights Group" went so far as to put up a big-character poster asking the president of the United States to show solicitude for the human rights in China. Some of the members of a "Democracy Symposium" slandered Chairman Mao Zedong and advocated "resolute and thorough criticism of the Communist Party of China." At a forum held to discuss the principles for the Party's theoretical work, some people fell into ideological confusion and demonstrated some wrong views.

In view of this situation, Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the Party Central Committee at the forum on March 3, 1979, made an important speech, entitled "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles." He said,

As we all know, far from being new, these Four Cardinal Principles have long been upheld by our Party. The Central Committee holds that today the Four Cardinal Principles must be emphasized repeatedly and adhered to, because some people (even though it is only a few people) attempt to shake these fundamental principles. This attempt will not be permitted under any circumstances.

In December 1980, Deng Xiaoping, at a Central Working Conference, warned again:

Recently, people associated with illegal organizations have been especially active. They have seized on all kinds of pretexts to make unrestrained anti-Party and anti-socialist statements. These are danger signals that should put the whole Party, all our youth and the entire people on the alert.

The ideological trend arose again around 1983, when spiritual pollution seeped into the theoretical circles and the literary and art circles. Of course, theoretical workers, writers and artists should be the "engineers of the human soul," and use their works, teaching and speeches to encourage the people to work hard, make progress, serve the people and devote themselves to the glorious cause of the socialist modernizations. However, running counter to the demands of the historical period and the people, some of them sought to contaminate the people's soul with their unhealthy ideas, works and performances. The central point of the spiritual pollution is to spread various capitalist and other exploiting classes' corrupt and decadent ideas and to disseminate distrust of the Communist Party and the socialist system.

A few theoretical workers disagreed with the conclusions on many important questions drawn in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," and spread the view that "alienation" had taken place in socialism in its various fields—thus attempting to produce theoretical foundations with which to negate the socialist system. They also publicized abstract humanitarianism, human nature and democracy, and talked idly

about "human value" in disregard to man's social and class natures. They called for realization of one's own value and advocated selfish individualism, in order to undermine the youth's spirit of dedication to the nation. Quite a few unhealthy and a few reactionary works came out from the world of art and literature.

On account of this situation, Deng Xiaoping, at the Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the CPC on October 12, 1983, seriously pointed out that people working in the ideological field must not spread spiritual pollution. Due to the ineffective exercise of leadership of Hu Yaobang, the then general secretary of the Party, the work of eliminating spiritual pollution was left unfinished. In December 1984, Hu Yaobang said to the Preparatory Group for the Third Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association, that there was no need to bring up the subject of opposing spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization at the congress. Since the ideological trend of liberalization was then running rampant in the world of literature, the practical result of the directive was to support and encourage the people who advocated liberalization in the literary circles. This made the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization spread even more rampantly in the field of art and literature and the theoretical circles.

The third time for the trend to spread unchecked was around 1986, this time led by Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang, Liu Binyan and others who stubbornly clung to bourgeois liberalization. Although they were Communists personally, they made speeches and published articles wantonly vilifying the Four Cardinal Principles. Fang Lizhi made a speech at Tongji University and declared, "From Marx and Lenin, to Stalin and Mao Zedong, orthodox socialism has been a failure." He proposed that China become "totally Westernized." Some people said that the building of socialism in China attempted to transcend the historical conditions and that "the missed lesson of capitalism must be made up." In the *Shenzhen Youth Daily*, one person expressed the view that to reform was to change "the leadership of the exclusive party." At one time, views and ideas negating the leadership of the Communist Party were crowded into newspapers and magazines.

Under these circumstances, the Chinese University of Science

and Technology, where Fang Lizhi held a post, aroused a student strike which spread throughout the country. During that time there were slogans opposing the leadership of the Communist Party and socialism. The Central Committee of the Party took resolute measures to quiet the student unrest and decided to carry out education throughout the whole country in "adherence to the Four Cardinal Principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalization." Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang and Liu Binyan were purged from the Party. In the meantime, Hu Yaobang resigned from the post of General Secretary of the Party for his ineffective exercises of leadership in opposing bourgeois liberalization.

Speaking of the student unrest, Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out that this was the consequence of the rampant spread of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. He said,

This is not a problem that has arisen in just one or two places or in just the last couple of years, it is the result of failure over the past several years to take a firm, clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalization. It is essential to adhere firmly to the Four Cardinal Principles; otherwise bourgeois liberalization will spread unchecked—and that has been the root cause of the problem.

Instead of drawing the previous lessons and conscientiously carrying out the directive from Deng Xiaoping of opposing bourgeois liberalization, Zhao Ziyang, who took up the post of General Secretary of the Party, took a passive attitude and created various obstacles to restrict and even revoke the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. He declared on May 13, 1987, at a conference of propaganda, theoretical, press and Party school cadres, that "bourgeois liberalization has lost its open market" and that "the situation of the rampant spread of bourgeois liberalization has been reversed." The instructions about opposing bourgeois liberalization were thereafter hastily wound up. After this, those people, like Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang and Liu Binyan, who had been criticized for advocating bourgeois liberalization, came back on the stage to write articles, make speeches and, on invitation, give lectures abroad. They became the favourites of a number of people at the time. They were doubly desperate in publicizing theories and views on liberalization. Zhao Ziyang protected and enlisted some people who upheld liberalization to form his own brain trust. They had control of

the Research Institute for Reform of the Economic System, the Research Institute of Development of the Agricultural Research Centre, the Research Institute for International Affairs of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation and the Beijing Young Economist Society. Meanwhile, they further put the media battlefield under their control, especially using the *World Economic Herald*, the *Economic Weekly* and the *New Observer* fortnightly. They used all their skill to publicize the ideas, theories and views of bourgeois liberalization, and produced very bad influence. On the other hand, Zhao Ziyang employed dishonest means to exclude, inhibit and attack those who stuck to Marxism and opposed liberalization. As a result, the fourth period of the spread of the bourgeois liberalization trend became much more frenzied from 1988 to 1989.

The fourth period of the rampant spread of bourgeois liberalization looked like a voracious sea which swept across various fields, including politics, economics, art and literature, and the social sciences. Bourgeois views of all descriptions on philosophy, politics and literature and art, and bourgeois outlooks on life, morality and values came forth. These theories and views had some differences from the trend of liberalization that directly opposed the Four Cardinal Principles. For instance, "All is for money" (equal to money worship) and "All is for realization of one's own values" (equal to individualism) and other bourgeois ideas can not be equated with bourgeois liberalization. But individualism and money worship are antagonistically and diametrically opposed to socialist ideology. Once individualism and money worship have run wild, they will inevitably become the spiritual force which will shake and crush socialism and make the people infatuated with capitalism.

During this period, the "Shekou Turbulence" and the *River Elegy* craze occurred. These both impressed me deeply.

The so-called Shekou Turbulence actually was created by several newspapers and magazines. On January 13, 1988, several noted youth education specialists visited Shenzhen and attended a symposium held in Shekou by Shekou youth. The two sides could not see eye to eye with each other on certain questions. This is, of course, not uncommon. It is a common thing to exchange different ideas and argue with one another. However, on February 1, 1988, a local newspaper carried the news head-

lined "Youth Education Specialists Challenged by Youth" in an important place on the first page. The newspaper also published, in March and April, two articles entitled "Shekou: Sharp Conflict Between Stale Preachments and Current Ideas" and "The Culture of God Completely Stifles People." These reports attracted wide attention. Several other newspapers and magazines also launched attacks on the youth education specialists following the newspaper in Shekou, proposing that the specialists were people like preachers inculcating clichés into youth who had current ideas and that this sort of instruction would never do in the time of reform and openness to the outside world, and so on.

On August 6, 1988, the *People's Daily* published a report "Questions and Answers on the 'Shekou Turbulence'." This report was seemingly impartial but in fact was obviously tendentious. Some one compared the report to a "heavy bomb" which pushed the turbulence to a new high. Hundreds of other newspapers also published articles on this matter, and some noted persons from theoretical, cultural and press circles joined the discussion as well. They generally leaned to the side against the youth education specialists.

What is the conflict between "the stale preachments" and "the current ideas"?

I attentively read a lot of commentaries and drew a conclusion. In brief, the spirit of devoting all to "the country, the nation and the people" was calumniated as stale preachments, but "all is for making money" and "there is nothing to 'ideals, beliefs and devotion to the motherland' " were extolled as current ideas. At that time I was filled with indignation at and felt strange about the fact that some people in the name of reform wantonly advocated the bourgeois world and value outlooks in socialist China. It was not understandable to many people that even the *People's Daily* got involved.

Of course, the bourgeois world and value outlooks can not be equated with bourgeois liberalization, which directly opposes socialism. But it is obvious that they have connections with each other. Those who devoutly believe in money worship can not be firmly convinced of socialism.

Almost at the same time, the *River Elegy*, a six-part TV series, came out into the open and made an unexpectedly great furor

inside and outside the country.

The broadcast of *River Elegy* by CCTV was started in June 1988. It reviews Chinese history and culture, as portrayed by the Yellow River, in a novel style. The series had a strong appeal to the audience just because of this unique style.

After having watched only two parts of the series, I could not continue—the makers of the series were continuously laughing at and speaking sarcastically about the ancestors of China. Amidst the applause, I forced myself to find the written commentaries of the series and intensively read them time and again on a three-day train ride to Kunming. I also read many of the reviews given by TV viewers and personages from the cultural circles. I made up my mind to be as objective as possible and to never be restricted by my personal feelings. However, good is good, and bad is bad. In the end I drew the conclusion that, though *River Elegy* had brought forth some new ideas to production of TV series, I am not able to agree to the general views it advocates.

I disagree most with the view propagated in *River Elegy* which totally negates Chinese civilization. The authors time and again vilify the excellent cultural traditions of China that the Yellow River breeds. For example:

New culture is unable to be bred in the yellow soil and the Yellow River.

It is impossible for a completely new civilization to run out from the Yellow River.

This vast yellow land can not tell us what is genuine scientific spirit.

The unruly Yellow River can not tell us what is genuine democratic consciousness.

According to the filmmakers, China's ancient history and civilization is determined by geographical conditions: Unlike the United States which is flanked by two oceans, China is a closed continent. This determines that Chinese civilization is closed, backward and conservative.

I also disagree with the praises and eulogies in *River Elegy* to Western civilization. *River Elegy* utilizes symbolism to entitle Chinese civilization as a yellow civilization and yet to entitle the Western or capitalist civilization as an "azure oceanic civilization." The "yellow civilization" is condemned as worthless, and

the "azure oceanic civilization" is praised as having magical strength.

River Elegy says,

Although in inland civilization with its dominant mode has the capacity for modern scientific achievements in the modernization programme, such as even the launching of artificial satellites and the explosion of an atomic bomb, it still is absolutely unable to radically endow the whole nation with a strong, vigorous civilization....

Only when the azure oceanic wind turns into rain to moisten again the drought yellow land can the vast Loess Plateau derive a chance of revitalization.

Here the authors, in a roundabout way, indicate unequivocally his idea that China should take the capitalist road: "Chinese history has not brought up a middle class [bourgeoisie] for Chinese people to give impetus to the victory of science and democracy." In addition, *River Elegy* cites Plekhanov to bear out that it was "too early" for the October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of Lenin to capture political power, and that the process "transcended ... the necessary stage of development" of capitalism and made "the economy a most disastrous failure." So, according to it, the only way out is to come back and make up the missed lesson of capitalism.

While *River Elegy* only utilizes art forms to beat about the bush about its idea that the reform and openness in China should take the road of "total Westernization" and "capitalism," after 1988, people from the intellectual circles in their articles and speeches flagrantly made public their political stand for overthrowing the socialist republic and establishing a bourgeois republic in China.

At a seminar held on December 7, 1988, Jin Guantao, research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Sciences, said publicly that "attempts at socialism and their failure constitute one of the two major legacies of the 20th century." Ge Yang, chief editor of the fortnightly *New Observer*, added inflammatory details to what Jin had said: "The development of socialism has its own laws. Socialism constitutes idealism and it is feudalism by nature. The feudal emperor is its chieftain. Jin's negation of socialism is not harsh enough, but a bit too polite."

On March 1, 1989, a big-character poster entitled "Denunciation of Deng Xiaoping—a Letter to the Nation" was put up at

Qinghua and Beijing universities simultaneously. The poster uttered such nonsense as: "The politics of the Communist Party consists of empty talk, power, autocracy and arbitrary decision-making," and openly demanded "dismantling the Party and abandoning the Four Cardinal Principles."

On the campuses of Beijing University and other schools of higher learning on March 29, there was extensive posting of Fang Lizhi's article: "China's Disappointment and Hope" written for the Hong Kong *Ming Pao Daily News*. In the article, Fang claimed that socialism had "completely lost its attraction" and there was the need to form political "pressure groups" to carry out "reforms for political democracy and economic freedom."

The big-character poster "Call of the Times" that came out in Beijing University on April 6, questioned in a manner of complete negation "whether there is any rationale now for socialism to exist" and "whether Marxism-Leninism fits the realities of China after all."

The protagonists of bourgeois liberalization also played up private ownership as against socialist public ownership in the economic field. Fang wrote an article for *Hong Kong Times* on June 14, 1988, saying that "the basic path of China's reform is to transform public ownership into private ownership."

The *World Economic Herald*, which had exerted all its strength in preaching private ownership since May 1988, carried an article on February 6, 1989, saying that in view of the increase in private ownership, "the problems cropping up in the reform, as well as the solution to them, are much easier to deal with than people have expected. These represent the thorough realization of private ownership and ownership on a nongovernment basis."

Besides publicity given by the mass media, the "democratic salon," "freedom forum" as well as various kinds of "seminars," "symposiums" and "lectures" mushroomed in Beijing's institutions of higher learning. The students and young teachers took the "new ideological trend" as the most fashionable topic and indulged in the use of new words and phrases. They wilfully found faults with the Party and government without doing much research on the current social problems.

Under such circumstances, in such an inflammatory atmosphere, many people working at the colleges and universities felt

that something untoward would happen. Su Xiaokang, the main author of *River Elegy*, who was very active in the turmoil, wrote a thought-provoking article on April 5, in which he said:

The year 1989 is destined to be a singular memorial year which meets many historical giants: It is the bicentenary of the French Revolution; the centenary of the founding of the Second International; the 70th anniversary of the May 4 Movement; the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Third International; the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China; the 30th anniversary of the Lushan Conference; the 20th anniversary of the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of China; the 20th anniversary of the death of Liu Shaoqi; and so on. No one can escape these coming days of the year which may make you happy or unhappy one way or the other... (*Wenhui Monthly*, No. 5, 1989)

What he has said above in a roundabout way, means nothing else than that: "We will find an anniversary to create a disturbance. No one can escape!"

Those plotting the turmoil originally chose the 70th anniversary of the May 4 Movement as the day to launch an attack. The sudden death of Hu Yaobang on April 15 gave them the best opportunity to put forth the slogans of totally negating the anti-bourgeois liberalization movement, on the pretext of mourning Hu. Then the turmoil broke out ahead of the scheduled time.

Representatives of Bourgeois Liberalization

As stated earlier, there was a sharp confrontation between bourgeois liberalization and the Four Cardinal Principles from the very beginning of the turmoil. In addition, in terms of the whole course of the turmoil, most of those plotting behind the scenes were those who stubbornly persisted in bourgeois liberalization.

Fang Lizhi and his wife, regarded as "dissidents" by some foreigners, were in direct command of the student "leaders." It was they who successfully changed the emphasis of the April 27 demonstration to "opposing corruption and official profiteering."

Another key plotter behind the turmoil was Yan Jiaqi, (form-

erly research fellow at the Institute of Political Science under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), who was active in 1979 when bourgeois liberalization first emerged on the political scene. He used to major in physics and later studied philosophy. In 1980 he started to engage in "political research." The main results of his "research" are contained in the following three books: *The Ten-Year History of the Cultural Revolution*; *On Leaders*; and *My Ideological Autobiography*. His basic political idea is to learn from the West and implement "the separation of judicial, legislative and executive powers" and impose "limits upon governmental power." He also holds that Marxism is a "closed type of ideological systems," and that to defend Marxism is to defend "Chinese feudal culture." He was adulated as a "new-style politician," "political élitist," "theoretical authority on political structural reform" and "representative of liberal intelligentsia."

In May he emerged from behind the scenes and came to visit Tiananmen Square in person, where he made speeches and declarations, and gave counsel to the student "leaders." After June 4 he fled abroad and co-organized the anti-government "Chinese Democracy Front," together with Wuerkaixi and Wan Runnan, to the acclaim of the reactionary forces in the United States, France, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Wan Runnan, now secretary-general of the reactionary "Chinese Democracy Front," was also very vociferous during the turmoil. He used to be the general manager of the Stone Company. One of his confidants said: "It is now widely claimed that our 'Stone' has become the logistics department, staff department and command headquarters of the student movement. Wan Runnan deserves all the praise." The task of the Stone Company was to develop high-technology, and Wan gained fame for being honoured as an entrepreneur because of the wide renown of the company.

However, his eyes were focused more on political issues than on science and technology or economics. He held that China called for private ownership and to solve the problem of ownership was, in his words, a matter "outside the field of economic reform, having become a problem for political reform as well." In his mind, the aim of political reform was to abolish the Four Cardinal Principles and introduce "parliamentary democracy."

Besides, those who masterminded schemes for the student

"leaders" or came out from behind the scenes to perform personally during the turmoil, such as Liu Xiaobo (lecturer at the Beijing Teachers' University); Bao Zunxin (associate research fellow at the Institute of History under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences); Zhang Xianyang (research fellow at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences); Jin Guantao (research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Sciences) and others, had all long clung to the ideology of bourgeois liberalization.

Those so-called student leaders who appeared in the limelight during the turmoil, such as Wang Dan, Wuerkaixi and Chai Ling, worshipped the leading members of bourgeois liberalization greatly, and believed whatever they said. Their minds had been filled with the "true scriptures" imparted by their "teachers," and they preached at every turn that "Professor Fang said that..." or "Professor Li warned this..."

Under the direct guidance of Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian, Wang Dan sponsored seventeen lectures of the "democratic salon" from May 4, 1988, to May 12, 1989, and Bao Zunxin, Dai Qing (a reporter with *Guangming Daily*) and Wu Zuguang (a playwright) were invited to give lectures preaching the ideology of bourgeois liberalization.

People Influenced by the Ideological Trend of Bourgeois Liberalization

Quite a number of students and intellectuals who were involved in the turmoil had been influenced by the ideology of bourgeois liberalization in varying degrees. It would be wrong to claim that they had the clear intention of abolishing the Communist Party and socialism; but it would be in keeping with the actual situation to say that they had cherished doubts about the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist road, to a certain extent, under the impact of bourgeois liberalization.

Some of the college students, young teachers and middle-aged and older intellectuals that I know personally were involved in the turmoil. I have often questioned *why* they couldn't recognize the real situation. They meant to eliminate all corruption, but they lacked any sense of class struggle and failed to

realize that reactionary forces both at home and abroad would certainly get involved in this struggle. Besides, under the impact of bourgeois liberalization over recent years, they had come to accept part of the erroneous viewpoints. Thus, they responded sympathetically to some of the slogans spread at Tiananmen Square to a certain extent.

Let us take an example. I once talked with one of my friends about the fasting students who were reluctant to leave the square, and I said: "If the turmoil goes on like this, it will certainly hamper the development of socialist construction." My friend obviously disagreed with me and rose from his chair, saying amidst gestures: "History will prove that the patriotic activities of the students have promoted the development of democracy in China." Our conversation grew disagreeable and soon stopped. The next day this friend took to the streets and joined in the supporting demonstration.

It was reasonable both for him to speak and act in this way. He had long been flaunting the fact that he had "emancipated his mind" and was "bold in accepting new things." Actually he was just bold in accepting the viewpoints of bourgeois liberalization, then prevalent in society, which pleased his ears. For instance, when the TV series, *River Elegy*, appreciated by Zhao Ziyang, was praised to the skies, he also sang songs of praise for it. As soon as the Shekou Turbulence appeared, he supported it... However, I know that he didn't intend to oppose the Communist Party and socialism. He merely believed that the Communist Party was too conservative and should become more enlightened, and that the practice of socialism had not been so successful and we should therefore learn something from the successes of capitalism. Those who hold the above-mentioned viewpoints are apt to fall captive to the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Many of the students involved in the unrest and turmoil had been influenced by the bourgeois-liberalization trend, but they were different in essence from those who persevered with the movement towards bourgeois liberalization. A contributor who is well-acquainted with the college students' thinking, analysed their thought as follows:

Patriotic fervour and political innocence as well as the patriotic enthusiasm and extreme sentiment exist in the thinking of the

students like two pairs of twins. In recent years, owing to the influx of the bourgeois-liberalization trend into China, views pertaining to the innate superiority of capitalism and the innate inferiority of socialism could be heard everywhere, resulting in a very abnormal ideological atmosphere, with respect of the public opinion at large.

Some elements of bourgeois ideology, such as the abstract concepts of democracy, freedom and human rights, have made imprints in the students' minds through various channels, poisoning them to varying degrees. For the past few years, the lack of a Marxist political education combined with the mistakes resulting from the reforms and the policy of opening to the outside world (which have also resulted in remarkable achievements), have together aggravated such social problems as overheated economic development, skyrocketing prices, obvious inflation, unequal social distribution, official profiteering and corruption, and have as a consequence given rise to some serious grievances.

All these factors have combined to make a significant impact upon the students. As a result, a sizeable proportion of the students have lost confidence in the Party, Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system, feeling disheartened about the future of the country and the destiny of the nation. They desire to discover other panaceas than socialism for eliminating those long-standing abuses of the society.

Given such dire spiritual circumstances, the views of bourgeois-liberalization started to please and suit the tastes of many people who never considered them seriously. Some people were innocently of the impression that no matter whether it were capitalism or socialism, private ownership or public ownership, it would be worth trying so long as it could help accelerate the development of the country's economy and rapidly bring relief to the most poverty-stricken and backward elements within the country. This kind of political naïvety made them easy targets to be misled and become involved in the turmoil, unwittingly and to varying degrees.

Furthermore, a very small handful of people with ulterior motives cooked up and spread various political rumours which led many students astray. Thus, a few of them engaged in activities which have since saddened their friends and gladdened their enemies, whilst some even went so far as to pay the penalty through their own bloodshed. But the greatest tragedy of all lies in the fact that they even believed that all these actions were committed in the name of patriotism." (See Li Zheng, "Why Did Honest and Kind Patriotic Intentions Change into Their Opposite?", *People's Daily*, July 28, 1989)

With regard to the bad results coming from the bourgeois liberalization, it is worth mentioning the deleterious impact it was able to exert on press circles. The incorrect guidelines given by some newspapers and periodicals at the central level, such as the *People's Daily*, caused quite a large number of the public to misunderstand the Party Central Committee's line on the student unrest, giving them the mistaken impression that they in fact supported it, when they did not, and thus leading many of them to become mistakenly involved in the turmoil.

Such incorrect guidelines were the result of bourgeois "press freedom" which had long been preached in press circles by the representatives of bourgeois liberalization. But in reality, where is there pure press freedom anywhere in the world? Take the Voice of America, the mouthpiece of the American government. It has the freedom to incite political and social turmoil in China, but, does it have equal freedom to oppose such turmoil?!

Drawing inference from this, the *People's Daily* as the representative organ of the Party Central Committee, surely should not have the freedom to *support* the turmoil.

Lessons Paid for in Blood

An important cause of the emergence of corruption and the wide spread of bourgeois liberalization is the errors in Party and government work.

If the internal cause of the turmoil is not sought from within, from the mistakes made by the Party, and if the Party does not resolutely decide to readjust its working-style, then a similar turmoil will re-emerge one day when the external climate is ripe. It is with such an idea in my mind that I felt relieved when I read the important speech on Party building made by Song Ping, a member of the Politburo Standing Committee (August 22, 1989, Xinhua News Agency). From this speech I learned that the Communist Party has recognized the challenge of Party building out of the turmoil and resolutely decided to make the necessary adjustment.

Song Ping first pointed out that the suppression of the rebellion demonstrated that the Party is "combat-worthy and invincible." After that statement, he went on to point out sharply

that: "From its inception, outbreak, and escalation right up until its final development into counter-revolutionary rebellion, the root cause of the whole thing exists primarily inside the Party itself."

What he has said should not be taken lightly, and has deep significance worth pondering upon. He continued to say, "Comrade Zhao Ziyang, as General Secretary of the Party, made the dual mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party at the most crucial moment for the Party and nation, and he thus bears the unshirkable responsibility for the emergence and development of the turmoil." "Many of the instigators, plotters, organizers and commanders of the turmoil were Party members." This means that some people inside the Party colluded with those outside the Party to oppose the Party. After all, the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within!

Many people of good will originally feared that the Party and government would attribute the wide spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois-liberalization as the root cause of the turmoil after the suppression of the rebellion, and fail to combat all corruption seriously or try their best to regain prestige among the masses. Thus, the danger of recurring turmoil would still exist. But after reading the speech made by Song Ping, all of my friends felt relieved. Now there is hope of a stable situation and no fear of foreign pressure so long as the Party has determined resolutely to consolidate itself.

The most important work to be done in Party consolidation is, of course, the dismissal of Zhao Ziyang as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and the creation of a new organ of central leadership.

What, then, were the main mistakes made by Zhao Ziyang?

The Main Mistakes Made by Zhao Ziyang

His most important mistake was to support the turmoil in both word and deed. As the Party's General Secretary, he ought to have led the whole Party in curbing the turmoil. However, he opposed the will of the entire Party by supporting the turmoil openly. This was really a big mistake.

In his long report to the Standing Committee of the Seventh

National People's Congress on June 30, 1989, Chen Xitong, State Councillor and Mayor of Beijing, listed the various mistakes made by Zhao Ziyang at different stages during the turmoil. Here I will outline the main ones:

—From the time of the death of Hu Yaobang on April 15 up until the conclusion of his memorial service on April 22, the student unrest developed into turmoil. The Beijing Municipal Party Committee repeatedly suggested to Zhao Ziyang that the central leadership should discuss measures to check the development of the situation. But, Zhao Ziyang kept avoiding making a serious analysis or holding a discussion about the nature of the matter. At the end of the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang, comrades in the central leadership again suggested to Zhao that a meeting be held before his visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 23. Instead of accepting this suggestion, Zhao went to play golf as if nothing had happened.

—When he was in Korea, he agreed to the definition of the nature of the turmoil, as made in the April 26 editorial of the *People's Daily*. After he returned he once again expressed his agreement. Two days later, however, he suddenly accused the April 26 editorial of giving incorrect definition to the nature of the turmoil, and suggested that it should be corrected, but in vain. When he met with representatives attending the annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank on the afternoon of May 4, he expressed a whole range of views diametrically opposed to the spirit of the April 26 editorial. At a time when the turmoil had already been unleashed, he claimed that there would be no big turmoil in China; when a host of facts had proven that the essence of the turmoil represented the complete negation of the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system, he still proclaimed that "they are by no means opposed to our fundamental system. Rather they are asking us to correct mistakes in our work"; although facts had shown that a handful of people were making use of the student unrest to instigate turmoil, he merely said that it was "hardly avoidable" for "some people to take advantage of this," thus totally negating the correct judgment of the Party Central Committee that a handful of people were fermenting turmoil. His speech exacerbated the mood of the plotters and organizers behind the turmoil and thus represented the turning point in the further

development of the turmoil.

—As the situation became increasingly more serious, Zhao Ziyang continued to incite press circles to make the worsening situation still worse as a result of incorrect guidance of public opinion. On May 6, he said, the press had opened up a bit and there had been reports about the demonstrations. According to him, there was no big risk involved in opening up a bit by reporting the demonstrations and increasing the openness of the news. He even said, “Confronted with the will of the people at home and the progressive trend worldwide, we could only guide our actions according to circumstances.” As a result, the *People’s Daily* and many other national newspapers and periodicals adopted an attitude of full acknowledgement and active support of the demonstrations, sit-in, hunger strike, and mass support for the students. It made a vast number of readers misunderstand the Party Central Committee’s position, giving them to understand that the Party Central Committee did itself support the turmoil. This is one of the most important reasons for so many people having been involved in the turmoil.

—Zhao Ziyang took advantage of his opportunity of meeting Gorbachev on May 16 to deliberately direct the fire of criticism at Deng Xiaoping and make the situation even worse than it already was. He said, “Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s helmsmanship is still needed for the most important issues. Since the 13th National Party Congress, we have always reported to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and asked for his advice while dealing with the most important issues.” He also said that this was “the first” public disclosure regarding the “decision-making process” of the Communist Party of China. Immediately after this talk with Gorbachev was publicized, voices hoarse with such calls as: “Gerontocratic politics must end and the autocrat must resign,” could be heard at Tiananmen Square. The high-tide of the anti-Deng storm began.

—On May 17, members of the Politburo Standing Committee met to discuss the issue of declaring martial law in parts of Beijing. A person who worked beside Zhao Ziyang told the leaders of the illegal student organization that the troops were about to crack down on them; that all others had agreed and Zhao Ziyang was the only one who was against it. On the evening of May 19, a meeting was called by the central author-

ities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing, declaring that the troops would march towards the city proper. Zhao Ziyang refused to attend the meeting. By doing so, he openly revealed his attitude of boycotting the Party before the public.

Zhao Ziyang's mistakes lay not merely in supporting the turmoil. According to the Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the CPC 13th Central Committee, "although he did some things beneficial to the reform, the opening of China to the outside world and to economic work when he held principal leading posts within the Party and the government, he obviously erred with respect of providing guidelines and with respect of practical work. Especially after taking charge of the work of the Central Committee, he took a passive approach to adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization, and he gravely neglected Party building, cultural and ethical development and ideological and political work, causing serious losses to the Party's cause." Thus, the session decided to dismiss him from his post and look more closely into his case.

The newly elected central leadership of the Party, with General Secretary Jiang Zemin at its core, is now paying special attention to Party building. This is undoubtedly because it has drawn a lesson in blood from the turmoil. I believe that the possibility of running the country well and providing permanent peace and security for the people exists so long as the Party building is implemented throughout all echelons, right the way from the very top to the very bottom, and is reviewed regularly.

The International Climate

Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Military Commission, made a profound summary of the cause of the turbulence in Beijing as follows: "The storm was bound to occur sooner or later. As determined by the international and domestic climate, it was inevitable and was independent of man's will. It was simply a matter of time and scale." (Speech delivered on June 9, 1989, in Beijing, to commanders above the corps level of the martial law enforcement troops.)

What was the international climate which gave rise to the outbreak of the turmoil in Beijing? I think it refers to the process of "peaceful evolution" promoted by the international bourgeois representatives in all the socialist countries of the world.

After the Second World War, a number of socialist countries were founded. Failing to combat the newly emergent socialist countries by means of armed intervention and subversion, the United States and some other Western countries adopted a new policy, that of peaceful evolution. They took as their long-term policy one of urging the "liberal forces" within the socialist countries to rise up and transform the socialist system themselves.

In the early fifties, Dulles publicly declared that they would place their hope of realizing peaceful evolution on the Communist Party leaders of the third and fourth generations.

Many socialist countries have been carrying out reform in recent years. The international bourgeois representatives have seized the chance to exert their influence by every possible means and infiltrate the socialist countries politically, economically and culturally in ideological terms. This includes China, in a vain attempt to lead the reform astray by every means. Our aim of reform is to eliminate all the drawbacks so as to promote our country's modernization and development along the socialist road. But the representatives of the international bourgeoisie want us to dispense with socialism entirely, and follow the capitalist road, so as to eventually become an appendage of certain capitalist powers.

In order to promote "peaceful evolution" in China, the United States has taken action in a series of ways.

After diplomatic relations with China were established, the United States began to propagate its civilization by sending scholars and professors to China to teach and lecture. We must admit that among these, friendly personalities were not rare, but, as far as American foreign policy was concerned, their real purpose was to infiltrate China in the ideological and cultural spheres. An American government organization complacently declared in a document on June 5, 1989: "Judging by the current situation in China, we can say that those professors sent to China have played their part in propagating American civilization and culture, and furthering the process of democratization in China,

especially through the dissemination of booklets, brought to China, amongst the students in Beijing."

More than 100 personalities of various circles with influence or potential influence on policies were being invited to visit the United States every year in the hope that some of them might attain high positions within the government someday. To train a pro-American group from amongst the Chinese students studying there was another long-term strategic aim of the United States.

The United States also did much to influence those persons who were in some way instrumental in determining Chinese governmental policy. In recent years, some of the leading cadres in organs such as, the Central Research Office of Political Structural Reform; the Research Institute for Reform of the Economic System; the Research Institute of Development of the Agricultural Research Centre; the Research Institute for International Affairs of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation; the Stone Research Institute of Social Development; the Beijing Young Economist Society, etc., have been taken as important targets to draw over. These "young officials," as they were called, had influence on Chinese policy at high levels, and have surely contributed to the turmoil as a result of running around on sinister errands and stirring up troubles during the turbulence.

The United States did its utmost to foster a pro-American force and their agents such as Fang Lizhi. When President Bush visited China for the first time after being elected President, he invited Fang Lizhi, a political "dissident," to attend his farewell banquet. Although this invitation failed, the case itself demonstrates that the American government was obstinately sticking to its stand of publicly supporting the personages of the Chinese bourgeois-liberalization trend. Fang Lizhi did his utmost to stage turmoil in China and, after he had failed, gained protection from the American Embassy in Beijing. In addition to Fang, the United States also gathered together those persons who had stirred up trouble on every campus during the course of the political upheaval and turbulence, in order that they might set up reactionary organizations abroad, which could someday return to the mainland, to engage in anti-governmental activities.

The Voice of America also played a special role in promoting "peaceful evolution." Its Chinese programme, which ordinarily

propagated Western culture and American life style, thereby engaging in "psychological warfare" against China, brought all its skill into play during the turmoil and rebellion, instigating and even instructing people ignorant of the true situation, to ferment trouble and oppose the Chinese government. On the night of April 20, the Voice of America broadcast that the Chinese students had planned to go on hunger strike in Tiananmen Square on April 22, and this actually represented a notice to the students to do so. May 15 was the scheduled date for talks between the Chinese and Soviet leaders. Prior to this, the Voice of America continuously broadcast that from the observers' perspective May 15 would be the ideal time for a mass demonstration in Tiananmen Square, since there would be many foreign reporters covering events there on that day. Thus abandoning its stance of objective reportage, the Voice of America addressed the Chinese students directly, in the name of "analyst." It spread a large number of rumours during the 12-hour Chinese programme every day. For instance:

May 15 70,000 workers of the Capital Iron and Steel Company went on strike.

May 22 Liu Binyan said that more than 100 high-ranking Chinese generals opposed the enforcement of martial law.

June 4 Troops moved onto and took over colleges and universities in Beijing, by force.

June 6 Deng Xiaoping died. Li Peng was wounded in an assassination attempt by a young officer who killed himself after the incident.

The 28th Corps and 38th Corps clashed with the 27th Corps near the Military Museum.

The rumours begun by the Voice of America played a deleterious role for some time, confusing and poisoning people's minds, but, ultimately, they invited exposure in the face of the facts, thus revealing that the Voice of America was by no means "objective" or "fair."

The turbulence in Beijing taught us a serious lesson. That is to say we should never underestimate the potentially harmful role played by the policy of "peaceful evolution" pursued by reactionary forces around the world. However, it is certain that in the days to come we will continue to persist in our policy of reform and opening up to the outside world; we will continue

to adopt advanced technology and take full advantage of management experience and administration from the advanced capitalist countries; we will continue to conduct broad cultural exchange with other countries and expand our friendly cooperation with people all over the world; but, at the same time, we should never relax our vigilance with respect of the policy of "peaceful evolution" practised by the world's reactionary political forces.

6

Will China Enjoy Long Peace and Stability?

I especially lament the fact that the political turmoil that shook the country coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of New China.

Forty years ago, on the day when the birth of New China was declared, I and several friends who shared my political view took part in the ceremony at Tiananmen Square. Still excited, we decided to go together to Dongjiaominxiang, to “parade.” The five of us, arm in arm, marched forward in lock step, shouting slogans from the bottom of our hearts: “Long live Liberation!” “Long live People’s China!” “Down with imperialism!” “Down with the Kuomintang!” “Long live the Chinese Communist Party!” We also sang loudly the song “The Sky Is Clear over the Liberated Areas!” We were so excited that tears filled our eyes.

On that exhilarating day, the passers-by were not surprised to see we several thrilled youths. Some even applauded us.

The five of us were all hot-blooded youths in our early twenties who had participated in the pre-Liberation student movement in Shanghai and who had been forced to run away to Hong Kong to avoid persecution. We had returned to our motherland after the downfall of the Kuomintang in the mainland and were lucky to participate in the epoch-making founding ceremony. Our blood was boiling and we had to vent our energy. Dongjiaominxiang was then the Legation Quarters, and on this birthday of New China we wanted to parade and demonstrate publicly at the place where the imperialists used to swagger. Lofty feelings of national pride swelled in our hearts.

The Chinese people are liberated and will never again be bullied and oppressed by foreigners! The Chinese people have stood up and we will build a strong and prosperous New China with our own hands.

I had smiled heartily every time I remembered this "spontaneous parade"; but when I thought of it in the spring and summer of 1989, a spasm of pain attacked my heart.

As I remember it, at a meeting of our unit held on May 17 last year, I sincerely advised my colleagues not to go to Tiananmen Square to show their support for the fasting students. Afterwards, while I bicycled home, I encountered group after group of people, either in trucks or by bicycle, rushing past me with banners and placards and heading for Tiananmen Square to support the fasting students. Residents of the city lined the roads and applauded them. Even an old poet I know stood by the roadside with his family members and contributed his share of applause. When I saw all this, my mind was filled with convoluted thoughts, with pain in anger and confusion in sadness.

Some people instigated by hostile elements were daring to openly oppose the Communist Party regime—of course I felt furious about this. That the Communist Party, with its sole purpose being to serve the people, should be opposed by some of the masses ... I felt confused. How could this kind of thing have happened after forty years? For the moment, I could not understand and could not explain.

After the 56-day turmoil was over, I gave some preliminary analysis on the cause and lessons of the Beijing turbulence. After half a year, especially after the unexpected rapid changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe, I feel it necessary to think through calmly the achievements and mistakes in the forty years after the founding of New China and, especially, in the ten years of reform and opening to the outside world. Otherwise, we cannot answer a major question put before the Chinese people and foreign friends concerned with China: Will socialism still work in China? And a related question: Will this great country with a population of 1.1 billion enjoy long peace and stability?

Two Different Attitudes

In the forty years after the founding of New China, has there been progress or decline? Are achievements greater than defects or vice versa? And, on the whole, has there success or failure? There used to be no doubt about these questions. In recent years, however, these non-questions have become big questions for people, especially for young people in their twenties. Why? The reasons are very complex. One is that people's minds have been confused. A few "luminaries" in the theoretic, educational, literary and artistic, and press and publication circles have employed mass media to advertise the mistakes of the Party and government after the founding of New China, such as the magnification of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the anti-Rightist movement, the absurd practices during the Great Leap Forward, and the cruel struggles and chaotic situation in the "cultural revolution." After seeing reports, novels and movies that reveal and criticize these mistakes, many young people have a contorted view of New China. In reality, has there been nothing but darkness in New China?

The intellectuals who have lived through this period of history do have painful feelings about the mistakes and problems which occurred during the anti-Rightist struggle, the Great Leap Forward and the "cultural revolution." However, we are more deeply moved and instructed by the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle represented by Iron Man Wang Jinxi and the Lei Feng spirit for serving the people heart and soul. I remember that during the difficult years of 1959-1961, there was international pressure from outside and natural and man-made catastrophes at home; people's lives were so hard that almost no one had enough to eat. However, no turmoil happened at that time, and there were few complaints and grievances. People united silently around the Communist Party and waged a bitter struggle. It was known that our leader Chairman Mao had made three agreements with his guards: First, eat no meat; second, eat no eggs; third, do not eat more food than rationed. At that time, the Communist Party and Chairman Mao enjoyed high prestige, and the power produced by the combination of the Party and the people was indeed overwhelming. The youth of the 80's know very little about this.

From the 50's to the 70's, a series of political campaigns ended up persecuting some good cadres and intellectuals. This result is painful, and we should really draw some serious lessons from it. After 1979, the Party Central Committee successively redressed wrong, false and mistaken cases of the past and decided never to launch political campaigns in the future. Such being the case, what reason can any individual possibly give for squaring old accounts with the Party, refusing to lay the matter aside?

Here I frankly declare to my readers that I was wrongly classified as a Rightist in the anti-Rightist campaign in 1957. As a result, I was expelled from the Party; my family, especially the careers of my two sons, were affected. I, who followed the Communist Party from my school years, was mistaken for a hostile element by the Communist Party. My anguish was like that of a son misunderstood and deserted by his parents. For over twenty years, I never dreamed that the case would be redressed one day, but I never lost heart and always retained a conviction, the conviction of serving the people. I told myself, "Why did I join the revolution? Wasn't it for the prosperity of China and the happiness of the people? Though I am not in the Party now, I must still retain the conviction of a Communist and struggle for this goal." A person's convictions should not change with his personal experience. Therefore, I did with all my might whatever work I was given to do. Once, I even carried fifty kilograms of coal with a shoulder pole and walked for fifteen kilometres, climbing over a hill on the way. My colleagues and leaders recognized my intentions and used every means to allocate me the kind of work the situation allowed me to do. I did not pass in vain the twenty years when I was not trusted; I received down-to-earth training in ordinary posts. In 1979, my Rightist case was redressed and my Party membership was restored, and I was appointed to an important post. I have no complaints and dig into my work with the conviction of serving the people. I feel that life is full and meaningful, and I seldom think about my past sufferings. Of course, some people suffered much more than I did, and it is understandable that they still nurse a few grievances.

Several of my good friends also suffered political persecution to varying degrees in the 50's and could not gain the Party's trust. Like myself, their reputation has been rehabilitated and,

since 1979, they have become college presidents, editors-in-chief of national newspapers, advisors in foreign affairs departments and bureau chiefs of central organs. When we meet, we never complain about the unjust treatment we received as individuals; instead, we always look forward and discuss various problems with deep concern for our country and our people. Some youth ridicule our generation of old and middle-aged intellectuals for our "blind faith." Frankly speaking, before the "cultural revolution," the prestige of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party was so high that we could not recognize their mistakes, or if we could, we dared not think deeply or say anything. We really had a certain degree of "blind faith." But circumstances have somewhat changed since 1979. In the decade of reform and opening to the outside world, the Party had advocated the style of study of seeking truth from facts and liberation of the mind. All of us have had a college education, and in recent years some have gone on fact-finding tours abroad, visiting the economically developed countries in North America, Western Europe and East Asia. This should have broadened our horizons. We do not fail to see, but rather see more clearly the backwardness of our country, the mistakes of the Party in the past four decades and even the weaknesses of our nation. However, we are patriotic and always give priority to the interests of our country and nation; we will never take the stand of the intellectuals who have betrayed their country and abuse our motherland. But we will not shield our shortcomings and we will not belittle ourselves improperly. We ask ourselves unbiasedly to assess the achievements and shortcomings of the past forty years. As for the backwardness of our country, the mistakes of the Party and the weaknesses of our nation, our attitude is: 1. Do not be pessimistic and despondent; 2. Do not rashly believe in the "recipes" that suit our countries; 3. Seek our own path according to China's practical conditions, experiences and lessons of history and by consulting foreign experiences. How can patriotic intellectuals with this attitude be described as having "blind faith"!

I was born in 1925 and lived through the turbulent years of the tangled warfare among the warlords. When the Japanese imperialists invaded China, I suffered the misery of a slave without a country in the occupied area. After the victory of the

Anti-Japanese War, I saw the luxury, dissipation and corruption of the upper classes in Kuomintang-ruled China and experienced the life of ordinary city residents when the prices were skyrocketing, people could barely make a living, the working people were oppressed and the intellectuals had no future. With this historical background, my feeling for the forty years of New China is naturally different from that of the youth at large.

Achievements and Mistakes in the Four Decades

For forty years, New China has stood towering in the East as an independent, unified socialist country, overcoming repeated isolations, blockades, interferences, sabotage and provocations of foreign imperialists, while safeguarding national security and dignity. Every time I think about this, I take pride in Chairman Mao's declaration, "The Chinese people have stood up!" Since the Opium War in the 1840s, the Chinese people, including patriotic overseas Chinese, have never so straightened their backs and felt so proud as in these forty years.

In these forty years, the socialist economy based on socialist public ownership has developed greatly, the economic outlook of our country has changed fundamentally, and the overall national power has strengthened considerably. Accumulated investment in fixed assets of state-owned establishments has amounted to over 2,000 billion yuan; the increase of fixed assets in these forty years is 126 times the total which had accumulated in Old China over nearly a century. The gross national output in 1988 was over 1,400 billion yuan, or 12 times that over the early years of New China. In the same year, China came eighth in the world in GNP, fifth in the total value of industrial production and first in the total value of agricultural production. The positions of some of China's important industrial and agricultural products in the world economy have risen rapidly. Steel, for example, rose from the 26th place in 1949 to the 4th in 1988; electric output rose from 25th to 4th; and crude oil output from 27th to 5th. In addition, the outputs of coal, cement, cloth, silk, grain, cotton and meat have all become the highest in the world.

There has been a breakthrough in agricultural production.

Grain output in 1988 was 8.5 times that in 1949. Even with its increasing population, China still provides adequate food and clothing for one-fifth of the world's population on one fourteenth of the world's land; this is an internationally recognized remarkable achievement.

A fairly complete industrial system has been established on China's territory; along with the rapid development of traditional industry, high-technology industries such as the microelectronics, aeronautics and nuclear industries have also developed.

China has independently produced the atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, man-made satellites, communications satellites and intercontinental ballistic missiles. This fact, more than anything else, indicates that China has strong comprehensive national power. It not only indicates that China has a strong industrial base and advanced science and technology but also displays a great spiritual strength. It indicates that the Chinese people have the will, wisdom and strength to scale the heights of internationally advanced technology with their own efforts.

The livelihood of urban and rural inhabitants has remarkably improved. Adjusted for inflation, the actual consumption level of Chinese in 1988 was four times that of the early years after the founding of New China. For most people there have been improvements in food, clothing, daily utensils and housing. The average life span in China has risen from 35 before Liberation to 69.

As I once lived in Old China, I am perhaps especially excited over the achievements of New China as compared with Old China. At any rate, these are all hard facts, which anyone who does not regard New China with hatred through dark glasses cannot deny. It should be said that China is not all darkness, that China has light and hope.

Of course, the path we have traversed in the past forty years has been tortuous. As the ruling party, the Communist Party of China has gone through a profound self-examination and analysis over its Leftist mistakes—including those made from the founding of the People's Republic to the "cultural revolution"—in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the CPC Central Committee in 1981.

The resolution points out that during the decade of all-round

socialist construction from 1956 to 1965, "his [Comrade Mao Zedong's] theoretical and practical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly serious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism in Party life and the personality cult grew graver and graver. The Central Committee of the Party failed to rectify these mistakes in good time. Careerists like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harbouring ulterior motives, made use of these errors and inflated them. This led to the inauguration of the 'cultural revolution.' " The "cultural revolution" was not a revolution; it did not promote social progress but instead caused serious confusion, damage and retrogression.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978 was a great turning point. This session completely and seriously corrected the Leftist mistakes made during and before the "cultural revolution" and ushered in this period of reform and opening to the outside world in the history of New China.

Achievements in the Ten Years of Reform and Opening to the Outside World

The decade of reform and opening to the outside world (1979-1989) has been a period with the most rapid economic development, the most rapid growth in national power and the most increase in practical benefits gained by the people; it is a new era when China forges ahead in great strides. The annual GNP growth rate has been 9.6%—higher than the 6.1% experienced from 1953 to 1978, and much higher than the 2-4% average growth rate of most countries in the world. In 1988, the total amount of exports and imports was five times that of 1978. In the ten years, the total amount of foreign capital utilization amounted to U.S. \$47.7 billion; the number of officially registered Chinese-foreign joint ventures, cooperative enterprises and enterprises solely owned by foreigners reached 16 thousand. Accounting for inflation, the per capita income increased by 11.8% for rural inhabitants and 6.5% for urban inhabitants. Along with overall improvements in food, clothing, utilities and housing, the total savings of urban and rural inhabitants increased from 21.1

billion yuan in 1978 to 380.2 billion yuan in 1988. People with insight in the world all recognize and admire China's remarkable progress in its decade of reform and opening to the outside world.

Why, then, did a world-shaking political turmoil and rebellion take place in China between the spring and summer in 1989? I have already given a general analysis; here I will investigate further into this question from the angle of the gains and losses of the decade of reform and opening to the outside world.

The reform of the economic system that began in 1979 falls roughly into three stages. In the first stage (1979-1984), the focal point of reform was in the rural areas, where it took the form of popularizing the contracted household responsibility system with income linked to output. There were overall and continuous increases in agricultural production, which promoted reform in cities. In the cities, there were some tentative reforms mainly concerned with raising the decision-making power of enterprises. In the second stage (1984-1988), the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Party Central Committee promulgated a "Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure" and the focal point of reform moved to the cities. In the third stage, the Third Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Party Central Committee held in September 1988 adopted the guideline to "improve the economic environment, rectify the economic order and deepen the reform." China's economic development has therefore entered a new era, with adjustments and reforms being carried out at the same time.

After a decade of reform, the rigid, closed economic system of centralized planning has gradually turned to a vigorous and open socialist commodity economy. Reform and development promote each other, bringing vitality to the whole national economy.

Ownership has turned from unitary public ownership to a structure containing various economic sectors, with public ownership as the mainstay. State-owned enterprises have begun to be turned from subordinates of government organs into independent commodity producers and managers. Market prices, which used to be rigidly controlled, have been gradually unbound. At present, the prices of about half of the commodities, including commercialized means of production, are regulated

by the market to various degrees. In state management of the economy, the amount of products under mandatory planning and that of goods and materials in the category of unified state distribution have drastically reduced. The whole economy is becoming more vigorous and flexible.

The market is a mirror of a vigorous economy. The impression of many foreign commentators is that China's is the most prosperous market of all socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and this has been felt even more deeply by the Chinese themselves.

For example, there were few varieties and inadequate supplies of ready-made clothes ten years ago. One of the demands put to the mayor by ordinary Beijing residents was to solve the problem of "difficulty in making clothes." It is no easy thing to have clothes made in clothing stores, they noted—one even has to go through the "back door" to find an ideal tailor.

Today, the clothing market is flourishing. There are not only an increased number of ordinary clothing stores but also many fashion shops selling the latest fashions. Clothing stands of private peddlers have emerged in all large and medium-size cities, where there are high- and medium-grade clothes of all selections. The purchase of clothes is no longer a problem, and visiting clothing markets has become a spare-time recreation of the young and the middle-aged. It is no longer difficult to make clothes; many newly emerged collective and private tailor's shops cater to the different needs of the city residents.

Foreigners used to ridicule China as "a kingdom of blue ants," alluding to the blue and gray clothing worn by almost every one. Especially in winter, people all wore blue cotton-padded clothes and overcoats regardless of sex or age. Last winter, I carefully observed the Beijing streets to see how many people were wearing cotton-padded overcoats. Only occasionally did I see cotton-padded jackets or overcoats—and these were worn by elderly persons or workers going to work. About 70% to 80% of people wore light or bright-coloured eiderdown jackets, while another 10% wore woolen or leather overcoats. The eiderdown jackets made in China not only sell well at home market but have also found their way into the international market; they are especially well-received in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The three major consumer goods people sought before were a watch, a bicycle and a sewing machine. In the past decade, people have been aiming for stereos, television sets and refrigerators. These three major articles, with both imported brands and a number of homemade brands, can be found in the market. According to statistics, the number of stereos owned by every hundred people was 0.2 in 1978 and 8.3 in 1988, while the number for television sets increased from 0.3 to 13.2. Besides, colour televisions have gradually replaced black-and-white sets in cities.

There has been an even more remarkable change manifested in the food market because of expanded production and the opening of circulation channels after agricultural reform.

Let me give you a small example. I like peanuts. Westerners do not need dishes when drinking, but the Chinese are different. The common people like to have some boiled salty peanuts to go with wine. However, one could hardly get peanuts at the market ten years ago. In the early 80's, women from the countryside who carried small baskets and sold peanuts in the streets were welcomed by the city residents. At a Spring Festival entertainment there was a comedy routine about a Hebei woman coming to sell peanuts in Beijing—this caused a sensation and you could often hear people shout "Peanuts for sale!" in imitation of the Hebei woman's dialect. Today, woman peanut vendors have disappeared; instead, there are peanuts on sale in state-owned and cooperative shops and private stands all the year round. Do not belittle this petty matter; it can also signify an important underlying reason. After agricultural reform, the peasants have changed from one-crop farming into a diverse cash crops system that works according to the needs of the market. As for circulation channels, the unitary management by the state has changed; both collective and private channels have been opened and the market has been invigorated.

Thanks to abundant supplies at the food markets, housewives today rarely complain about buying vegetables. Many regard going to the market as a pleasure. 1. They can buy almost everything they want to buy; 2. They need not wait in long queues; and 3. They need not look at the salesmen's long faces. Formerly, it was very bothersome to invite guests to dinner at home—it was difficult to arrange because the market was so

inadequate. Today, you can buy whatever you want as long as you have money. This change cannot be shown in numbers, but it has exerted considerable influence on people's psychology.

According to statistics, the average consumption level of urban and rural inhabitants increased by 108% from 1978 to 1988. It should be regarded as remarkable that the average consumption level of 1.1 billion people doubled in ten years.

The Mistakes in the Decade of Reform and Openness

Though the achievements of reform and openness are apparent and urban and rural inhabitants have gained practical benefits, reform of the economic system is a new thing with no ready-made and mature plan to follow. Consequently, many problems and difficulties encountered in the process are not easy to solve; besides, there have been mistakes in the government leadership. This has resulted in three major problems, causing discussions and complaints in the society.

The first problem is the overly rapid price rises. Since the founding of New China, a policy of stabilizing prices has been continuously carried out. Prices remained stable over a long period, and the people were of course satisfied. But many economic problems accumulated, such as the low price of agricultural products which affected the peasants' initiative for production. In March 1979, the government raised the purchasing prices of 18 agricultural products, including grain, cotton and live pigs, by 15 to 50%. As a result, the prices of grain and non-staple food in the cities rose correspondingly. In order not to affect people's lives, the government has begun subsidizing products, spending a great amount of money on price subsidies every year. In fact, the prices of some commodities on the market are much lower than their actual values. Since 1980, the government has begun to reform prices—where before there was overcentralized control of prices, the policy now is to allow the prices of some commodities to fluctuate according to the regulation of the market. For instance, the price of pork was decontrolled in 1985. In 1986 prices were decontrolled for seven industrial consumer goods, such as bicycles, black-and-white

television sets, refrigerators, and pure cotton textiles of over 80 counts. After that, prices were decontrolled for 749 commodities in 24 categories. In 1987, the government clearly stipulated the adoption of three kinds of prices: state-fixed prices, state-guided prices and market-regulated prices. In 1988, an estimated 65% of agricultural and sideline products, 55% of industrial consumer products and 40% of industrial capital goods had their prices wholly regulated by the market.

Looking back now, one can be clear that the reform of price policy and allowing some of the commodity prices to be regulated by the market are consistent with the laws of economic development.

However, after the last quarter of 1984, the overheated economy caused inflation, with rapid price rises occurring each year. From 1987 to 1988, the total index of retail prices rose by 18.5%. Afterwards, the government adopted a policy of control and improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order, and the measures of retrenching investment in capital construction, limiting loans and controlling inflation. As a result, the sum of price rises was reduced month by month in 1989.

Overly rapid price rises test the endurance of the masses, enterprises and the state. In fact, the actual living standard of many urban residents dropped to a certain degree. These circumstances caused widespread attention in the society and raised serious worries from the masses, affecting social stability and the confidence of the masses in reform.

The second problem is unjust income distribution. After the reform of the economic system, personal income has changed gradually from a single salary to the coexistence of various forms of income, including salary income, capital income, property income, employment income and various subsidies and welfare. Besides, the state control of personal income has changed from highly centralized direct control to indirect control. For instance, state-run enterprises can now adjust the amount of wages according to their economic gains. However, because of the incompleteness of the new control mechanism, two phenomena of unjust distribution have emerged.

1. Egalitarian-style distribution, which existed before the reform, has not been corrected but encouraged and extended in

some organizations, institutions and enterprises. This is mainly because of the rise of the proportion of welfare bonuses and subsidies in personal income; in some units the proportion amounts to 50%. This income is mostly distributed equally. According to the investigation of 48 cities by the State Statistics Bureau, the salary ratio between research assistants and research fellows in research institutions decreased from 1:3 in 1985 to 1:2, in January-April 1988 and the ratio between ordinary office workers and department and bureau chiefs decreased from 1:3.1 to 1:1.6.

2. There has been an increased disparity of income between, on the one hand, the few people who have a "secondary occupation," employers and self-employed people and, on the other hand, the masses of workers and cadres. For instance, some workers do uncertified business or act as middlemen to undertake business, charging considerable amounts for commissions and benefits. Apart from the performances arranged by their own troupes, some actors and actresses receive high pay by doing performances in the society at large. Some can earn over a hundred thousand yuan each year, whereas those without this kind of opportunity earn a salary of only one to two thousand yuan. The abnormal phenomenon of manual workers earning more than brain workers and that of persons engaged in simple labour earning more than persons engaged in complex labour is also widespread. Enterprises with foreign business relations provide relatively high salaries. For example, one of my colleagues has been doing translation work diligently for nearly 30 years and has received the academic title of senior editor (equivalent with associate professor). She has a monthly salary of 170 yuan. Her son, a junior high school graduate, has learned a little oral Japanese and has worked as a tourist guide for less than one year in a Chinese-foreign joint venture. His monthly salary is 380 yuan. Her husband is also a senior editor and earns as much as she. The son, who has just begun to work, is earning more than the total salary of his parents, who have worked for nearly 30 years. This unreasonable phenomenon is not very uncommon. According to statistics in Shanghai, the average annual income of a self-employed person is over 5,000 yuan; 10 of them earn more than 10,000 yuan a year. Some private street pedlars selling daily commodities earn over a hundred thousand

a year. On the other hand, the highest annual salary of first-grade professors is only about 5,000 yuan.

This gap in the material well-being between various sectors of the society is not in a reasonable proportion, causing quite a few members of the society to feel indignant.

The third problem is the confusion in the economic order, especially the order in the sector of circulation. There are increased instances of official and private profiteering, embezzlement, bribery, and the use of official power for private gain.

In 1988, in its effort to crack down on economic crime, the procuratorial organs in the country placed on record over 66,300 cases of embezzlement, bribery and tax evasion, seizing illicit goods and money with a total value of 423 million yuan.

According to the 1989 report of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, activities of embezzlement and bribery today have the following characteristics: 1. The sum of embezzlement and bribery is very large. Among the cases filed for investigation in 1988, 122 involved 100 to 500 thousand yuan, 22 involved 500 thousand to a million yuan, and 15 involved over a million yuan. 2. There are many people at grass-root units who possess financial power. Nearly 70% of the criminals are directors, managers, accountants and purchasing agents of enterprises and institutions. 3. Many cases happened in banks, architecture firms, the food industry, supply and marketing and goods and material units. 4. There is an increased number of cases concerning international economic relations. Some criminals ask for or accept bribery from merchants abroad; some flee the country with embezzled money.

Wu Shuqing, president of Beijing University, has analyzed inflation, unfair distribution and corruption in his article "We Must Adhere to the Socialist Orientation in Reform and Openness," published in *People's Daily* on November 17, 1989. He thinks that the emergence and development of these phenomena were not due to adherence to the socialist orientation but resulted from straying away from it to a certain extent.

For instance, the growth of corruption does not indicate that the Party has already been corrupted or that the corruption resulted from the adoption of public ownership and upholding the Party's leadership, as claimed by preachers of liberalization. In fact, there are phenomena of corruption within the Communist Party. However,

every unprejudiced person will admit that the Communist Party is good on the whole and is the cleanest in Chinese history. Theoretically, public ownership and the nature of the Communist Party are directly opposed to corruption, whereas private ownership and political parties and factions of the exploiting classes have intrinsic relations with corruption. In practice, following the establishment of socialism after the founding of the People's Republic of China, our country early on adopted socialist public ownership under the leadership of the Party, but there was no growth and spread of corruption for quite a long period. In capitalist countries with private ownership and a multi-party system, corruption has not disappeared, but is instead widespread, it is only that for some time the media of our country did not expose it.

Then why has corruption in the Party and government grown more and more serious in recent years? We must say that this has something to do with Zhao Ziyang's mistaken guiding principles as evidenced in his passive attitude towards the Four Cardinal Principles and the struggle against bourgeois liberalization and in his serious negligence of Party building, the building of spiritual civilization and political and ideological work. In developing a commodity economy, adopting various ownerships and distribution methods and expanding foreign economic and technological relations, we must prevent the invasion of the corrupt thinking of the bourgeoisie and guard against "sugar-coated bullets." As a developing socialist country, China must not discard its tradition of hard work and plain living for decades to come. Recently, however, high consumption has become more and more popular, extravagance and waste is regarded as generosity and honour, and hard struggle is regarded as dinginess and humiliation. The inversion of right and wrong provides soil for the growth of corruption, and popular opinions such as "pursue money in everything," "calculate every pound," "calculate every ounce," "be good at earning and spending," and "restore the reputation of individualism" provide the theoretical foundation for corruption. Apparently, the problem does not lie in the adherence to the Four Cardinal Principles and the socialist orientation but in the deviation from the socialist orientation.

Wu Shuqing believes that unfair distribution is also a deviation from socialist principles and that the emergence and development of inflation are more closely linked with blindly copying Western economic theories. I feel that his analysis is very enlightening.

In political and ideological areas, the Party and the govern-

ment have also made mistakes. Within the forty years after the founding of New China, for example, the first thirty years saw constant struggles against "Rightism," resulting in "Leftist" mistakes and magnification of class struggles. The ten years after the "cultural revolution," namely, the ten years of reform and opening to the outside world, were mainly devoted to struggles against "Leftism," including rectification, the redressing of wrong, false, and mistaken cases, and the advocacy of mental emancipation. These are all correct, but in the fight against "Leftism," the regrowth of the Rightist tendency was ignored. Consequently, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization began to emerge in 1979. Since 1979, Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly mentioned the question of anti-bourgeois liberalization, but neither of the two successive Party general secretaries promoted the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. Zhao Ziyang even used every means to restrain the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, resulting in the malignant development of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in 1988-1989, which became the main cause for the emergence and development of the Beijing turbulence.

Negligence of spiritual civilization while emphasizing material civilization is also a mistake in the period under review. Since the opening of the country, we have advanced the modernization programme by absorbing advanced science and technology and healthy, progressive culture from foreign countries. However, the philosophy of life, ethics and morality of the capitalist society—such as money worship, selfishness, and the supremacy of individual values—have also come down in a horrible mess. Under these circumstances, we should adopt measures to prevent the corrosion of bourgeois thinking from the outside on the one hand, and pay special attention to the education and advocacy of socialist morality, civilization and ideals within our society on the other hand. Though the Party Central Committee passed a document concerning the promotion of spiritual civilization, it has not been properly carried out. The weakening of the building of socialist spiritual civilization has caused bourgeois thinking to become widespread. And bourgeois thinking is just the hotbed of liberalization.

Though achievements are dominant in the ten years of reform and opening to the outside world, in recent years there

are three major problems in the reform of the economic system, including rapid price rises, unfair distribution and confusion of the circulation area. The combination of the confusion of the circulation area and the corrosion of bourgeois thinking further results in bad phenomena such as embezzlement, corruption, official profiteering, and the use of official power for private gains. All these have caused an indignant reaction in the society. Those who want to foster China's degeneration into capitalism, namely those who advocate bourgeois liberalization, such as Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi and Wan Runnan, exploited these popular complaints and used slogans against corruption and official profiteering as a pretext to start this turmoil with the actual purpose of overthrowing the government under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and subverting the socialist system. Though price rises, unfair distribution, embezzlement and corruption were not serious enough to cause the downfall of the government, though they were not the main cause of the turmoil, they constituted the main reason that masses were incited and got involved in the turmoil. Many of my acquaintances took part in the turmoil to various degrees just because of harbouring one complaint or another as mentioned above; they thought that the students' protest would perhaps sober up the mind of the Party and the government. They did not have anti-Party or anti-socialist thoughts or intentions.

They did not expect in the least that the justified demand that there be a fight against corruption, unfair distribution and inflation—a demand which should encourage the Party and government to better carry out the reform along the socialist line—was used by some people in anti-socialist activities! It was as if some people wanted to walk towards the left but were directed towards the right. Looking back, the people who had been cheated must realize how ridiculous it was!

As indicated above, the deluge of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization was the real cause of this political turmoil. Though the deluge of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization had something to do with the internal and international background, the Party and government cannot deny the mistakes of insufficient struggle against Rightist tendency in the political and ideological field and the negligence of the fostering of spiritual civilization. A review of the above happen-

ings in the decade of reform and opening to the outside world will make us understand more clearly why the tumultuous turmoil should have occurred in a country like China that had been rather successful in carrying out the reform and opening.

Two Reforms, Two Futures

All those who practise bourgeois liberalization in socialist countries, including China, flaunt the banner of reform. They call themselves "reformists" and those who oppose liberalization "conservatives." This trick of theirs is highly deceptive.

Confronted with an overheated economy, sharp price rises and confusion in the field of circulation, in September 1988 the Party and government put forward the policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform. Those who clung to bourgeois liberalization came out before the footlights immediately and opposed the "vindictive counterattacks" of the "conservatives" in the capacity of the "reformers." Yan Jiaqi and Wen Yuankai in their "Dialogue on the Current Situation" in the *Economic Journal* (December 4, 1988) attacked the improvement and rectification as "putting the clock back" and "restoring the pre-reform order overnight after more than ten years' painstaking efforts." Without mentioning names, Yan Jiaqi undisguisedly attacked Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng, saying that:

Those who have been against the reforms are watching China turning from bad to worse, taking China's difficulties as their opportunity to seize power and preparing to "clear up the messy situation," which will inevitably result in a long period of stagnation or retrogression in China.

This article was reprinted by many domestic and Hong Kong newspapers and magazines. It was regarded as the declaration against the "conservatives" by the self-proclaimed "reformers" who clung to bourgeois liberalization.

What kind of reforms and opening to the outside world do the people persisting in bourgeois liberalization want? At the beginning, they did not make their answer very clear. The brain trusters around Zhao Ziyang had their reform principles and final targets. However, in the previous few years, they hid them,

not daring to make them public. Their strategy was to go step by step. They first got you to take the first dose of medicine. After that, you must take the second dose, and then the third. In this way, they would gradually get you into the quagmire of capitalism. In the past two years, they continuously spied out the land, and, finding that the climate was good, they made their purposes more clear.

In the final analysis, their programme for economic structural reform was to abolish public ownership and realize private ownership—in other words, to cancel the planned economy and implement a market economy. Through the *World Economic Herald*, they brought forth various programmes for private ownership. Some held that the state property should be divided into shares to be sold to individuals; others maintained that the state should grant loans for individuals to purchase the state-owned enterprises. Anyone who has enough brains will doubt that such “reform programmes” would work.

In a word, their political structural “reform” was to implement a Western multi-party system. This, in their own words, meant to abolish the “single party dictatorship” of the Communist Party and establish a “tripartite balance of three forces.” They plotted to set up the so-called “Constitution Revision Committee,” which would attempt to get rid of the Four Cardinal Principles from the Constitution.

In short, the guiding principle of the reforms advocated by those persisting in bourgeois liberalization was to replace the socialist system with capitalism. To them, the opening up to the outside world meant “total Westernization.”

The bourgeois liberalizers said that their reforms conformed to the world trends. This is true. But correctly speaking, their reforms accorded with an adverse current of Right deviation and retrogression in the world.

The reforms and openness advocated by the Chinese Communist Party and government lays stress on promoting society to move forward, adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and independently perfecting the socialist system. Some links of the production relations and superstructure that are not suited to the development of the productive forces should be reformed to promote the development of the productive forces. We should acquire knowledge of science and technology and meth-

ods of management suitable to China from all countries in the world, including the capitalist countries in the West, and make use of foreign talented personnel, funds and all useful cultures. The purpose of our reform is to add vitality to socialism and bring into full play all of the advantages of socialism. Opening to the outside world refers to learning strong points from other countries for our own use on the basis of self-reliance, instead of "total Westernization."

That there are completely opposite targets and programmes in the two different reforms is the underlying cause of the political turmoil that occurred between spring and summer in 1989. The stand of those persisting in bourgeois liberalization is favoured by the reactionary forces in the West, as it accords with their wish for the "peaceful evolution" of socialist China. This was why they energetically cheered and supported the turmoil and, after the crushing of the rebellion, they raised a terrific hue and cry for "sanctions." The tragedy for these people lies in the fact that they do not understand China. China, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will never back down from its principles to surrender to foreign powers.

How to Regard China's "Poverty"

Why did the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization spread unchecked during the ten years of the reforms and opening. Because, for a certain period of time, the Party and government did not do their best to struggle against bourgeois liberalization. This is the subjective cause. Objectively there existed a favourable climate and soil for the birth and growth of bourgeois liberalization.

For the first thirty of the forty years after the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people had very few contacts with foreigners. While China was engaged in its construction with the door closed, the people had limited understanding of the world. Ten years ago, China began to open its door and windows to the outside world and the people suddenly found that China was far behind. The surprising gap between China and some countries in the world was intolerable. At the beginning of the openness, the Chinese people had doubts. Later these

doubts were reinforced when people coming back from abroad described how wealthy foreign countries were and because TV and films showed the magnificent skyscrapers and expressways of foreign countries and newspapers and magazines carried one article after another introducing the fantastic material civilization of the West. As a result, the concept "China is poor and foreign countries are rich" has found its way deep into the hearts of the people. Actually, the "foreign countries" in their minds are only some advanced capitalist countries such as the United States and Japan.

As far as the concept itself is concerned, we cannot say it is wrong. However, it will be oversimplified to reach by inference the conclusion that socialism is not as good as capitalism. This is not necessarily the truth. Unfortunately, some intellectuals who are not knowledgeable but have high opinions of themselves, especially some young intellectuals who have scanty experience of life, have fallen into the mire of this ridiculous formula and cannot get out of it. Those persisting in bourgeois liberalization—making use of the people's blind worship of Western material civilization and exaggerated sense of inferiority about the civilization and economy of their own country—have advocated capitalism with all their might and belittled socialism.

To resist the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, it is necessary to reason things out and scientifically analyse and criticize the various viewpoints of the trend. But the most important thing is to help people have a correct understanding of why China is so poor. If one adopts a comparatively objective attitude towards this key problem, he will not blindly follow the baton of the political "elitists" and accept the various fallacies of bourgeois liberalization.

"Why is China poor?" is not a new question. Starting from the early 20th century, generations upon generations of progressive intellectuals, represented by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Lu Xun, were puzzled with the question. They thought hard and made investigations, trying to find answers to it.

They discovered that cruel exploitation and oppression of peasants by feudal ruling classes was the basic cause for the stagnation of the economy and social life in Chinese society in the past several thousand years.

They also found that the plunder of China by big capitalist powers was the fundamental cause for old China's poverty and backwardness.

After the Opium War in 1840, one after another of the capitalist powers launched aggressions against China, reducing it to a semi-colony. Almost all the big powers in the world invaded China. From the Opium War to the downfall of the Qing Dynasty, the indemnities paid by China to foreign countries accumulated to some 1.3 billion taels of silver. In 1937, the Japanese imperialists started their war of aggression against China. In the following eight years, China suffered heavy casualties (totalling twenty million) and a loss of a hundred billion US dollars. It is none other than the blood and sweat of the Chinese people that made foreign capitalists wealthy.

In the period when Chiang Kai-shek was in power, ordinary folk saw clearly that, because of the corruption and incompetence of his political power representing the bureaucrat-capitalist class, China lost territory and suffered a ruined economy while the people had no means of livelihood.

Therefore the broad masses of the Chinese people supported the stand of the Chinese Communist Party—which was to remove the three big mountains (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism) that weighed down on the Chinese people.

Then, why has China not yet gotten rid of poverty and backwardness since the founding of New China forty years ago?

The premise for answering this question is that the starting point for New China was very low. Young people in their early twenties have only a vague notion about this.

It should be known that in 1949 the industrial fixed assets in China came to the value of just over 10 billion yuan and the railways on the mainland extended only 22,000 kilometres, while India had boasted more than 50,000 kilometres of railways in 1914. In 1949, the output of steel in China registered only 158,000 tons, while India produced several million tons of steel that year. Compared with other countries in the world, the industrial output value of China was insignificant. Due to such a low starting point, it is impossible in a short period of time for China, in spite of the quick pace of its development, to catch up with the capitalist countries, which had made an early start two

hundred years previously.

Another problem is the mistakes in population policy which China committed in the past forty years—with the result that the population went from about 500 million in 1949 to the present 1.1 billion. The sharp population growth has made China suffer a lot. Though China ranks eighth in the world in the gross national product and has been among the advanced countries, it ranks below one hundred in terms of the per-capita national income. Nowadays young people admire the life of the American people. However, consider this: Even if the gross national product of China were as high as that of the United States, its per capita income would be lower than that of several dozen countries. On the contrary, if China had a population of only 250 million like the United States, China, with its present gross national product, would have a standard of living about five times that of the present. It goes to show that whoever comes to power in China cannot avoid this difficult problem.

If we take into consideration the above-mentioned two points—that is the low starting point and the big population—no one will remain indifferent towards the achievements in economic construction New China has made in the past forty years.

As compared with 1949, the total industrial and agricultural output value of China increased by 41.2 times and the national income by 19 times in 1988, after adjusting for fluctuating prices. As compared with the peak year before Liberation, the output of raw coal in 1988 increased by 17 times, crude oil 429 times, generated electricity 92 times, steel 65 times, cotton yarn 11.5 times, grain 3.6 times and cotton 5.9 times.

The standard of living has greatly improved. In 1957 the yearly income per urban resident came to 235 yuan; the figure increased to 1,119 yuan in 1988. In 1957, the annual income per rural resident registered at 73 yuan, and in 1988, 545 yuan. After adjusting for fluctuating prices, the yearly income per capita in urban areas in 1988 increased by 87.9 percent and that for the rural population by over three times as against the figures of 1978.

Take Beijing as an example. In 1949, the annual income per capita was about a hundred yuan, while in 1989, 1,597 yuan—an increase of 98.8 percent over the figure of the pre-reform year

of 1978 (after adjusting for fluctuating prices).

When we talk about the per-capita income of Beijing residents, there is one point that needs to be explained. The yearly income per Beijing resident is the equivalent of only 339 US dollars, which, according to the standard of living in the United States, is below the poverty line and the people in Beijing could not survive. As a matter of fact, if American people come to visit Beijing, they will find that the residents in Beijing not only have enough to eat and wear, but also are fastidious about their food and clothing, in addition to owning colour TV sets and VCR's. How is this? 1. The commodity prices in China are much lower than those in the United States; and 2. The state provides quite high food and rent subsidies to residents. The monthly rent for an ordinary worker household accounts only for 4 percent of his monthly wage. Therefore, though the income is low, the people have a reasonably well-off life. If this weren't the case, the residents would not be putting such a large amount of money into the bank. In 1988, the year-end remaining sum of deposits of urban and rural residents came to 380.1 billion yuan and the total volume of retail sales of social commodities reached 744 billion yuan. This indicates that the total amount of residents' deposits was equivalent to 50 percent of the total volume of retail sales of social commodities. This significant figure proves incontrovertibly that the majority of urban and rural people are living a well-off life.

The expression that "China is poor" is not wrong. The problem is how you understand the concept. In my opinion, China is poorer than the advanced countries in the world. However, China is not poor among the developing countries. As compared with old China, tremendous changes have taken place in New China.

It is worth pointing out that China is among the countries with fairly high economic growth rates. Since the reform and opening to the outside world, China has made even quicker progress in the national economy. Between 1953 and 1978, the average annual growth rate of the gross national product came to 6.1 percent and between 1978 and 1988, 9.6 percent. However, between 1980 and 1986 the average annual growth rate of the gross national product in the world was 2.6 percent. The growth rate for advanced countries was 2.3 percent and for

China 9.2 percent. China's economy has developed faster than many other developing countries. Between 1967 and 1984, the average annual economic growth rate for the developing countries in the world was 4.9 percent and that for China 9.4 percent. All world economists recognize the fact that China's economy has developed faster than that of India. According to the statistics provided by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, in the twenty years from 1965 to 1984, the average annual growth of industrial production of China was 8 percent higher than that of India. Even during the ten years of turmoil in the "cultural revolution," the average annual growth rate of the Chinese industry was about 10 percent, much higher than India's (less than 4 percent).

Take steel for example. In 1949, steel output was 158,000 tons in China and 1,370,000 tons in India, while in 1988, it was 59.18 million tons in China and 14.20 million tons in India. In 1989, China produced 61.24 million tons of steel, next only to the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan, leaving Britain, France and Federal Germany as well as India behind. Is this a success or a failure for socialism? The answer is self-evident to anyone in his right mind.

Economists in the world who do not have political prejudice against China affirm the achievements which China has made in the past forty years, especially in the last ten years of reform and openness. James Lilley, ambassador of the United States to China, made a speech about the China of 1990 and the changes in its economy and politics in Hong Kong on November 7, 1989. He said that he had hardly met any businessmen and international economists who were not optimistic about China's long-term future. We must remember, he pointed out, this country is by no means a failure in economy. He added that many developing countries admire that China has a strong economic base and rich natural resources to deal with the present problems, and the potential to play an important economic role in the region and in the world in the next century.

Even those who only slightly know the Chinese history understand well that in the 200-some years before the founding of the People's Republic, China was forced to cede territory and pay indemnities to foreign invaders. Though China perhaps was worthy of the name "a strong country" in the 1750s, it was

already declining into a weak country day by day after the Opium War. It was not until after the founding of New China that China put an end to the situation in which China had allowed itself to be trampled upon. The forty years of New China have been the country's most prosperous years in the past two hundred or so years. This proves that socialism has vitality in China. At any rate, we should not draw an improper conclusion that socialism has met with failure in China just because China's economy is still behind the developed capitalist countries.

It is true that without the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, the "cultural revolution" from 1966 to 1976 and many mistakes in politics and economy, New China would have made much quicker progress. We all admit it. But we also must not, because of all these errors, deny the substantial achievements China has made and ignore the overall national strength brought by socialism. Socialism has given the people in New China a much better life than in old China or some developing countries.

Only if we make a serious analysis of the concept "China is poor" will we understand that it is unreasonable and unfair to attribute China's relative backwardness to the socialist system. On the contrary, the history of the past two hundred years reveals that it is none other than the socialist system that has brought China forty years of independence, unification, development and progress. Though China has not been completely lifted out of poverty and backwardness, when we think twice, we can see that socialism is on the whole successful in China. Socialism has narrowed the gap between China and the developed countries, it has not widened the disparity. This success has heightened the people's confidence so that so long as we draw lessons and sum up experience of the past forty years, it will be possible for China to make a fairly fast advance along the socialist road.

Because of the influence of the international environment, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization will not disappear automatically from Chinese mainland. The struggle against this trend will last long. If the Chinese youth had calmly thought over the question of whether socialism had worked in China, this trend would not have so magically attached itself to their hearts. Sophistry can only cheat people for a while, though, and

the power of facts will last forever.

Some intellectuals, especially young intellectuals, have doubts not only about the socialist system, but also about socialist democracy. They blindly worship the bourgeois democracy of the West. My points of view are: China needs democracy. The present political life is not democratic enough and needs to be perfected. But the Western bourgeois democracy does not accord with the conditions in China. He Xin, a young scholar of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, once stated his viewpoints. His statements, though not long, are enlightening. It might be well to quote his own words:

Reporter: During this students' unrest, people raised the question of democracy. Could you please tell us your point of view on this question?

He Xin: When discussing this question, we should distinguish the essence of democracy from its special forms. The essence of democracy is to make the decision-making power win wide support in society. It means to establish a system so as to make the majority of society's members take part in making decisions and express their opinions with relatively equal opportunities. There can be a great variety of forms for realizing such essence. The system of the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference may be a form of present political democracy. In addition, I myself think that it is not true there was no democratic mechanism existing in Chinese political traditions. In remote antiquity and in the pre-Qin Dynasty period, there appeared clan democracy and aristocratic democracy. In the later dynasties, the emperor had his supreme power while various special systems were established to limit the emperor's absolute power, divide the power between the emperor and his subjects and provide more opportunities for the common people to participate in and discuss the state affairs. The ancient Chinese political and legal systems are different from those of the Western countries and had no Greek-style parliamentary democratic traditions. But it does not mean that there was no political democratic tradition at all in ancient China.

On the other hand, when discussing democracy, I think we should notice that there is no absolute democracy at any time or place. All existing political democracy is limited democracy. This is true in the East as well as in the West. The problem is where the limitations are set. Meanwhile, democracy is not an abstract value of human rights, but a means of struggle and balance among groups with antagonistic interests. Finally, with regard to the criterion for

determining the social and political development level, I maintain that it can only be social practice. When the introduction of certain forms produces chaos and leads to economic destruction, political conflicts and social turmoil, these forms are undesirable no matter if they are abstractly reasonable.

I maintain that China should continue its political reform. But I think it will be difficult to copy the political systems of the United States or other Western countries in a simple and childish way.

Reporter: Do you mean the multi-party system?

He Xin: The multi-party system has been a fashionable concept in the past two years. But those who advocate the multi-party system do not understand: 1. The multi-party system was practised at the end of the Qing Dynasty and at the beginning of the Republic of China, and the result was great chaos throughout the country; 2. During the "cultural revolution" various kinds of "rebel organizations" sprang up, and factions, like parties, ended up in a mess; and 3. Although multi-party democracy is stipulated in the constitution of Japan, actually only the Liberal Democratic Party has been in power for quite a long time. Therefore the saying that the multi-party system is inevitably linked with the economic take-off does not tally with the facts. I believe that in the present situation, relatively centralizing power in China is more favourable to the maintenance of stability and the promotion of economic development than magnifying the division of power. (From "Retrospective After the 1989 Turmoil, *China Youth News*, December 6, 1989.)

Three Necessities for Long Peace and Stability

Will this country with its 1.1 billion people retain stability after the astounding political turmoil it has experienced? Especially from 1989 to 1990, a time when there have been many unexpected changes on the international political stage, people are more concerned with whether socialist China can maintain longtime peace and stability.

I and my colleagues and friends often discuss this question; we see it from different angles and with some differences in our opinion, but we agree in the essential points. Let me try to give a rough analysis.

We all think that it has become clearer that Western reactionary forces have never relaxed their secret plots to cause the "peaceful evolution" of socialist China. They will continue to do so in the future, and with the changing conditions, they may

intensify their activities. The unstable elements from abroad, to use a mathematical term, is a constant. However, the external cause can only function through an internal cause. If the work is well done in all aspects at home to prevent the external hostile forces from getting any opportunity, they will not be able to shake the rivers and mountains of China, even if they double their efforts.

Therefore, the decisive factor of whether the situation is stable or not is the country's domestic situation.

Inside the country, the key to long peace and stability depends on whether the ruling Communist Party of China is able to control the situation.

In the spring-summer period of 1989, reactionary forces at home and abroad joined together and made use of the people's dissatisfactions to start a political turmoil. The political pressure that they put on the Communist Party of China should be called "superhigh pressure." In its range, there were demonstrations in no fewer than 84 large and medium-size cities, with 2.8 million total participants. In its duration, it lasted for 56 days; in its method, hunger strike, the most powerful method of the so-called nonviolent forms of resistance, was used. The number of hunger strikers was not in dozens or in hundreds, but over 3,000. After the turmoil turned into a rebellion, various non-peaceful, bestial means were employed, such as robbing weapons, seizing tanks, burning army trucks and murdering soldiers—even burning corpses for public display. The political pressure exerted in such a manner can not but be called unprecedented "superhigh pressure."

Under these circumstances, certain friends were worried that the Communist Party might not be able to resist, while the hostile forces were exultant, believing the Communist Party was doomed. However, the Communist Party of China endured the severe tests, did not waver or make any concessions in matters of principle before the increasing "superhigh pressure" and achieved victory in the end. Thinking back on it, we can not contain our admiration for the Communist Party of China as a stalwart party worthy of its revolutionary tradition of the Long March and as a mature party with experience in complex political struggles.

We can see the turmoil in two aspects. First, we can ask: Why

did the turmoil take place? The internal cause came mainly from within the Party. Second, we can ask: Why could the turmoil be suppressed? Fundamentally, this was due to the leadership of the Communist Party. A victory achieved under such "superhigh pressure" from reactionary forces at home and abroad indicates that the Communist Party of China is combat-worthy and cannot be overcome by any hostile forces.

Some may say, "But you had to use the army to resolve the problem." Yes, at crucial moments; the situation would have become unthinkable if the PLA had not stepped in. However, martial law was enforced only in several districts of Beijing. Shanghai, Xi'an and Wuhan also went wild and there were agitations in over 80 cities all over the country, all places where the situation was brought under control without sending in the army. Besides, if the Communist Party could not stand by itself, if the great masses of people had not given their support, the problem could not have been solved only by using the army.

In summing up the lessons, we have agreed that the cause of the political turmoil in the spring-summer period of 1989 lay in the Communist Party itself. Therefore, to prevent the recurrence of turmoil, we must strengthen the building of the Party, which mainly includes consolidating the Party's leadership, correcting the Party's style, and strengthening the relationship between the Party and the masses.

It is necessary to banish an unqualified general secretary like Zhao Ziyang. The Party Central Committee has already established a new leadership group with General Secretary Jiang Zeming at its core. After working for over half a year, they have gradually gained the trust of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals. The leading groups of the Party at various levels should also be investigated and adjusted; all those leading cadres who do not support and do not adamantly believe in the Four Cardinal Principles should be dismissed, so that leadership at various levels can be held tight by those who believe in Marxism, are faithful to the socialist cause and serve the people with all their hearts. This is very important for stabilizing the situation.

There is one matter of utmost significance for safeguarding long peace and stability of our socialist country: To be determined in fighting corruption and advocating clear service, this

is so that the masses who have lost faith in the Party and the government can see hope and the very few hostile elements can have no chance to make trouble. In July last year, the new Party Central Committee with Jiang Zeming at its centre made seven decisions to purify the government and combat corruption (see page 91); after half a year, some initial good results can be seen. The children of high-ranking officials have withdrawn from commercial establishments in the prescribed time. Further cleaning up of companies is being carried out with more and more urgency. Embezzlement and bribery are being dealt with severely—for example, a batch of criminals, including two provincial leaders, recently have been punished by law. The regulations for the rigid control of inviting guests and giving presents has produced effects that the masses can see. According to a report in the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao Daily News* on February 26, 1990,

Under the situation of the Chinese Communist Party strongly advocating honest government service, the phenomena of using public funds to eat and drink have been greatly reduced.... New Asia Corporation is the largest cooperative food company in Shanghai. According to statistics, the number of "public-financed food connoisseurs" coming to the restaurants held by this corporation in 1989 saw a reduction of a million as compared with the previous year. According to some restaurant managers, the grade of public-financed banquets is dropping and the number of accompanying eaters has fallen markedly.

The fostering of honest government is a long-term task. If the Party Central Committee deals with it as a major issue for stabilizing the political situation, deals with it from the Party Central Committee down to grass-root levels and deals with it persistently, it will surely win the support of the people.

Another key point in Party building is to build closer relations with the masses. The purpose of the Communist Party of China is to serve the people; Party leaders at various levels should go among the masses to investigate their conditions, find out their demands, listen to their opinions, solve their problems, worry about the people's worries and rejoice over people's joys, and share weal and woe with the people. If it is closely tied to the people, the Party will have infinite strength and will not be afraid of difficulties, however formidable they are.

In the past half a year, Jiang Zeming and the other five standing committee members of the Politburo have travelled all over the mainland and have had extensive communication with workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals. Wherever they go, the masses there feel satisfied; besides, ordinary people who watch on TV the leaders busily running about all over the country also have deep impressions and feelings. I have heard various kinds of people make such kinds of comments: "The new leaders are so hard-working; they are working nonstop and cannot get a rest even in the Spring Festival!" "It can be seen that they sincerely want to lead the people to do things well!" Jiang Zeming's visit to Yan'an and the areas in rural Jiangxi that were liberated early on has produced favourable reaction among ordinary peasants and grass-root cadres. They say, "The old revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party has returned!"

Another key point that determines whether China will enjoy long peace and stability is the continuous, stable and coordinated development of economy and the gradual improvement of people's lives.

The strategic plan for China's economic development consists of three steps. First, double the GNP of 1980 so that the people can have enough to eat and wear; second, double the GNP again by the end of the century so that the people can be comparatively well-off; third, basically realize the four modernizations by the mid-21st century with the per capita GNP attaining the level of an average developed country and the people being relatively affluent.

At present, the first step has been basically realized; we are realizing the second step, which is also the crucial step. The present task is to do well the work that began in September 1989 of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and deepening the reforms—this will ensure continuous, stable and concerted economic development.

The improvement and rectification, though seriously affected by the political turmoil, has produced initial effects. 1. The excessive industrial growth rate has been cut down. In 1989, the industrial growth rate was 8.3%, with a 12.4% decrease from 1988. Problems caused by an overheated economy, such as the total social demand surpassing the total supply and the over-

rapid increase in the distribution of the national income, have been brought under control. 2. Inflation has been restricted. In 1989, the rate of increase in retail prices dropped month after month; it was 27% in January and 6.4% in December. The price of non-staple food in cities and towns in 1989 basically remained at the same level as in December 1988. The people are satisfied with this. 3. The situation of currency withdrawals is favourable. Savings have increased sharply; the total amount of savings by urban and rural inhabitants by the end of 1989 reached 513.5 billion yuan, with a 35.1% increase as compared with the end of 1988. 4. There has been overall growth in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupation and fishery. The total agricultural output value in 1989 increased by 3.3% compared with the previous year; the total grain output achieved a new record high. Vegetable production improved remarkably, fruit output increased by 10.3%, the output of pork, beef and mutton by 6.1% and the output of aquatic products by 8.2%.

Though ideal results have not been achieved in the improvement of the economic environment, the rectification of the economic order and the deepening of the reform and problems have emerged, such as the temporary recession in the market and the momentary decline in industrial production, we have still succeeded on the whole.

The initial success in these has, on the one hand, rebuked with facts the prediction of the "elitists" in the turmoil, who said that "the Chinese economy will head towards collapse in the work of improvement and rectification. On the other hand, it also proves that the improvement and rectification are not stepping back from reform, but instead will create favourable conditions for the more healthy development of the national economy.

The last and perhaps the most important condition to retain long peace and stability is support of the people. "A nation cannot stand up without the trust of the people" (*Analects of Confucius*). Since ancient times, every wise ruler has understood this argument. In 1949, the Communist Party of China defeated the eight-million-strong Kuomintang Army thanks to the support of the people. In the difficult years of 1959-1961, again thanks to the support of the people, the country did not fall into

disorder when it was suffering great pressure from outside and serious natural calamities at home. Today, again under pressure from serious situations at home and abroad, we must still rely on the people's support to retain long peace and stability.

After ten years of turmoil in the "cultural revolution," the people in both urban and rural areas long for stability. The repression of the 1989 turmoil, though it undoubtedly depended on the powerful strength of the Communist Party, was also due to people's longing for stability. I have not yet seen social investigation materials on this aspect, but the majority of the people that I meet hope that China will not fall into disorder. The new "rebels" who flaunt the banner of reform are only the minority. In this past Spring Festival, several colleagues who had gone back to their hometowns returned with the message that "people were longing for peace." The most convincing is the remark of a colleague whose hometown is Dalian. There he has a big family—43 people of four generations. Sixteen of his peers are cadres or workers in factories and another six are college teachers or office workers. These 22 people unanimously believe that China should not fall into disorder and that to do construction well, slowness is not to be afraid, but disorder is. They think that as workers and cadres, they should only contribute to the country's construction and should not create troubles for the country. I am pleasantly relieved to hear these heartfelt words from grass-root levels.

Nevertheless, we need not deny that the prestige of the Party among the masses has indeed declined as compared with the 50's and 60's.

To win the trust of the people, the Communist Party of China must be determined to strengthen Party building and restore the image which gained it respect and trust during the revolutionary wars; to win the trust of the people, the Party and government must promote economic development and give real benefits to the common people. These two aspects have been mentioned elsewhere above.

To win the trust of the people, I think, we should also do thorough and careful ideological work to clarify or correct those thoughts of people who have been confused by the protagonists of bourgeois liberalization. The situation of confused thoughts from 1988 to the first half of 1989 should not happen again. It

is more important to give positive instruction. For instance, we have to enable the majority of people to answer the questions: Why is China so poor? Can socialism save China? What kind of democracy does China need? If we can agree on these basic questions, preachers of bourgeois liberalization will have only a small audience.

Moreover, we must advocate patriotism, oppose the worship of and blind faith in everything foreign, advocate the spirit of devotion to the motherland and society and oppose "looking for money in all aspects." In the past half a year or so, the Party Central Committee has advocated the Lei Feng spirit of serving the people heart and soul and has upheld the Daqing spirit of relying on our own efforts and hard work for the prosperity of our country; I raise my both hands to support this. I believe that a self-depreciating and short-sighted nation has no future; only an aspiring, diligent and brave people has hope.

Appendix

Chronicle of Events in the Beijing Turmoil

(April 15-June 9, 1989)

People's China Press

April 15

- At 7:53 a.m. April 15, Comrade Hu Yaobang, member of Political Bureau of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, died of illness at the age of 73. The CPC Central Committee issued an obituary on the day, praising him as a great proletarian revolutionary and statesman.

- Students of Beijing University put up about 30 big-character posters in the Triangular Area of the campus (students' concentrated living quarters). One of the posters read, "This man has passed away. Whom can we count on then?"

At 2:00 p.m., an antithetical couplet appeared in the campus of Chinese People's University. It reads:

"It would be better to dethrone Deng [Deng Xiaoping] than to mourn Hu [Hu Yaobang] and curse Li [Li Peng];

"It would be better to hew down the Four Principles than to talk about thousands of theories."

There is also a horizontal inscription which says, "Let's wait and see."

- At 7:40 p.m., the first flower wreath in memory of Hu Yaobang was placed at the Monument to the People's Heroes at Tiananmen Square.

April 16

- College students in Beijing spontaneously went to the mourning hall at Hu's home and the Monument to the People's

Heroes to lay wreaths. Some institutions of higher learning also established mourning halls of their own.

The Student Union and the Postgraduate Union of Beijing University issued a joint declaration, which, on the basis of the students' opinions, announced five mourning activities: 1. The two unions are to jointly found a work commission for mourning Hu Yaobang; 2. The two unions are to present elegiac couplets on behalf of all students; 3. A special reception station in charge of collecting students' opinions is to be set up; 4. A mourning hall is to be set up; and 5. The two unions will demand that student representatives be allowed to attend the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang.

- Over 300 slogans, elegiac couplets and big-character and small-character posters were put up in 20 colleges and universities including Beijing University, Chinese People's University, Qinghua University and Beijing Teachers' University. Many posters seized on the opportunity of mourning Hu's death to air some people's resentment against the Party and government and assail comrades in the central leadership by their names. In the morning, a batch of slogans appeared in the Central Institute for Nationalities and one of them read, "Those who shouldn't have died have passed away while those who should die are still alive."

- In Beijing and other parts of the country, people held mourning ceremonies and activities, and there was a steady stream of wreath senders before the Monument to the People's Heroes at Tiananmen Square.

April 17

- Students of the University of Political Science and Law, Beijing University and other institutions took to the streets and stage unauthorized demonstrations. Some people chanted such slogans as "Oppose Autocracy" and "Oppose Dictatorship." In the afternoon, the demonstrators arrived at Tiananmen Square and held a big rally. The phalanx of the University of Political Science and Law consisting of about 500 people was the first to enter the square. They claimed to have come after seeing a photo in the *People's Daily*, which showed wreaths with people around them in front of the Monument at Tiananmen Square.

The photo was understood as a signal of the Party Central Committee to encourage people to do so.

- In the evening, Wang Dan, a student of Beijing University (later one of the leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students), made a speech in the Triangular Area and instigated nearly 1,000 students to march to Tiananmen Square.

- In Shanghai, students from Fudan University, Tongji University, University of Finance and Economics and Foreign Languages Institute held similar demonstrations.

April 18

- Students of Beijing University and other institutions of higher learning held demonstrations. When the demonstrating students from Beijing University and Chinese People's University passed by the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, somebody shouted slogans, "Oppose Autocracy," "Oppose Dictatorship" and "Down with Bureaucratic Government."

- At dawn, Wang Dan made a speech before the Monument at Tiananmen Square and announced nine demands which he had previously discussed with Li Shuxian (Fang Lizhi's wife and an associate professor of Beijing University) and others. The two major demands are: 1. To reevaluate Hu Yaobang's merits and demerits; and 2. To completely negate the movement against bourgeois liberalization and rehabilitate those who had suffered so-called "unrighted wrongs" during the movement.

- In the morning, students of Beijing University arrived in front of the Great Hall of the People and asked to hand over a petition. The staff member who came out to receive them promised to convey their demands to higher authorities.

At 7:30 a.m., Wang Dan phoned Li Shuxian. When he came back, Wang said, "Teacher Li asked us to hold on and she will mobilize 6,000 students to come and support us."

At 8:00 a.m., responsible people of the general office of the Central Committee and the Bureau for Letters and Visits of the State Council invited student representatives to the Great Hall of the People to hear their opinions and demands. Wang Dan and Guo Haifeng (later secretary-general of the Autonomous Union of University Students) handed the petition to the Bureau for Letters and Visits.

After that, Wang Dan and the others called this dialogue unsatisfactory and demanded a dialogue with Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC).

At 9:30 a.m., Li Shuxian put up in the Triangular Area a big-character poster entitled "Telephone Call from Tiananmen Square," appealing students to "pay close attention to the developments of things" and "support the petitioners."

At 10:30 a.m., there were only 200-300 students left who persisted in a sit-down protest at the square. Wang Dan lowered the level of dialogue from Chairman to Vice-Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. At noon, the number of students at the square was reduced to only 100 or so. Wang downgraded the dialogue further, accepting that it was all right to have a member of the NPC Standing Committee for the talk.

At 3:00 p.m., hundreds of students arrived at the square in succession. Wang Dan began to incite them to assault the Great Hall of the People.

At 5:00 p.m., the receptionists told the students that Liu Yandong, member of the NPC Standing Committee, and other two members would hold a discussion with them. At this time, the square had more and more students. Wang Dan abruptly withdrew the demand for a dialogue and asked the NPC representatives to accept their petition on the first flight of steps leading to the east entrance to the Great Hall of the People at 7:50 p.m. He stressed that everything would calm down so long as the petition was accepted.

Leaders of the departments concerned agreed to the request raised by the students. Around 8:00 p.m., deputies to the National People's Congress Tao Xiping, Liu Yandong and Song Shixiong accepted outside the east entrance of the Great Hall of the People the petition submitted by Guo Haifeng and Li Jinjin, respectively representing Beijing University and Chinese People's University.

The petition put forward seven demands to the NPC Standing Committee:

1. To reappraise Hu Yaobang's merits and demerits and affirm his views on democracy, freedom, tolerance and harmony;
2. To overtly clarify the nature of the combat against cultural contamination and bourgeois liberalization and redress the people who had sustained unrighted wrongs;
3. To disclose the wages and

all of other incomes of the leaders and their children, and publicize their unswerving determination to fight and eradicate corruption; 4. To lift the ban on newspapers and allow more press freedom; 5. To add funds to education and improve the living conditions of intellectuals; 6. To rescind the 10-article regulations on demonstrations issued by the Standing Committee of the Beijing Municipal People's Congress; 7. To give response as soon as possible and report the current event impartially and timely in the press.

The NPC deputies accepted their petition, but Wang Dan and the others still pressed ahead. He led more than 2,000 students to demonstrate outside the Xinhua Gate of Zhongnanhai, headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council.

- When the night deepened, more than 2,000 students from Beijing University, Beijing Teachers' University and the University of Political Science and Law mounted a sit-in demonstration in front of Xinhua Gate. Some of them shouted, "Li Peng, come out," and began to assault the gate.

April 19

- At dawn, more people gathered outside the Xinhua Gate of Zhongnanhai regardless of the obstruction of the armed police on duty, and they even tried to break into the gate. Some of them threw soda bottles and shoes from behind. An armed policeman was wounded in his face while Wang Dan was looking on and teasing with two girl students.

At 4:20 a.m., the Beijing Municipal Government broadcast an announcement on the spot, warning that some people were attempting to create and provoke disturbances and this was not a proper mourning activity. The announcement also asked the masses of people to heighten their vigilance so as not to be used by the people harbouring ulterior motives. It pointed out that it was illegal to assault the Party and governmental offices, and asked the people on the scene to leave in order to maintain the order of work and traffic.

Around 5:00 a.m., persuaded and guided by staff workers and armed police on duty, the crowd gathering outside Xinhua Gate gradually dispersed.

- The Preparatory Committee of the United Students' Union of Beijing University was set up at the 16th meeting of the "democratic salon" of Beijing University presided over by Wang Dan. The Preparatory Committee, composed of seven members—Ding Xiaoping, Wang Dan, Yang Tao, Yang Dantao, Xiong Miao, Feng Congde and Chang Jing—was to give leadership to their so-called student movement.

- At around 10 p.m., Guo Xiangdong, a girl student from the Foreign Languages Department of Beijing Teachers' University, was knocked down by a trolley bus on her way back to school after watching a theatrical performance. When she died despite all rescue measures, some people spread the rumour that "police cars dashed madly into the ranks of the demonstrating students and killed the girl university student Guo Xiangdong, thus creating a case of bloodshed."

- The Beijing Municipal People's Government issued an announcement on the assault on Zhongnanhai the previous night and that morning. It pointed out that a few people with ulterior motives tried to change the orientation of the activities for mourning Hu Yaobang, assaulted Xinhua Gate and wounded a policeman who was there trying to maintain order and that these were grave acts against the law. The announcement also pointed out that some people with ulterior motives were spreading rumours and, through big-character posters, attacking Party and state leaders.

- The two journals *World Economic Herald* and *New Observer* sponsored a forum in Beijing to discuss mainly two topics: one was to redress Hu Yaobang and the other was to reverse the verdict on the fight against bourgeois liberalization and clearly express the support to the student demonstration. Yan Jiaqi (research fellow of the Institute of Political Science of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) said at the forum, "As long as you go and have a look at what is going on at Tiananmen Square, you will know that it is nothing but a demand for an impartial appraisal of Hu Yaobang and of some of the movements in 1986. I have seen China's future and hope at Tiananmen Square."

April 20

- In the small hours of the day, hundreds of students still

gathered outside Xinhuaamen Gate. Some made demagogic speeches, some threw bricks and soda bottles at the police and injured four of them, and some assaulted Xinhuaamen Gate several times. Wang Dan told the students before Xinhuaamen Gate that what made them excited the most was to incite the anger of the police, and as soon as the police were unable to restrain themselves and hit out first, the students would have the excuse to aggravate the incident.

For two or three hours the policemen on the spot repeatedly broadcast the announcement of the Beijing Municipal Government to the students, asking them to leave Xinhuaamen Gate. By 4:40 a.m., some of the students had left after dissuasion by their school authorities. Immediately before daybreak, there were still more than 200 people remaining, some of them shouted, "Whoever leaves is a traitor." In accordance with public security regulations, policemen whisked these students onto buses by force and sent them back to their schools. Some of the students struggled with all their might and some even shouted, "Down with the Communist Party." The students already on the buses broke a lot of window glass. During the whole process, there were tussles and scuffles between students and policemen.

At daytime, students continued their rallies, speeches and demonstrations.

- The Student Union and the Postgraduate Union of Beijing University called on the students to stop street rallies and demonstrations. The call was responded to by the Student Union of Qinghua University.

- In the name of "Xinhua News Agency Commentator," the Xinhua News Agency published a commentary entitled "The Most Important Task at Present Is to Maintain Social Stability." The commentary pointed out that some people, on the excuse of mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang, deliberately directed their spearhead of attack at the Party and government. They made demagogic speeches, shouted the reactionary slogan of "Down with the Communist Party," smeared and damaged the Monument to the People's Heroes, and even assaulted Xinhuaamen Gate and wounded the armed police maintaining the public order. They were clearly not mourning for Comrade Hu Yaobang, but were disrupting the normal mourning activities. Their activities had gone beyond the scope permitted by the law, and

it was completely necessary to take firm measures in curbing these illegal activities.

The commentary also pointed out, "There are surely a small number of people who are stirring up the turmoil openly or behind the scene."

- The rumour of so-called "April 20 bloody incident" was spreading in society, alleging that "the police beat people at Xinhua Gate, not only students, but also workers, women and children," that "more than a thousand scientists and technicians fell in pools of blood," and that "a police car madly dashed into the ranks of the demonstrating students, knocked down a girl student named Guo Xiangdong and killed her." As a matter of fact, the girl student was run down by a trolley bus on her way back to school after watching a theatrical performance and died in spite of rescue measures. The classmates of the dead, the trolley-bus driver and the people from the municipal public security and traffic organs can bear witness to this case. The rumours further agitated some people who were unaware of the truth.

- Liu Xiaobo, a lecturer of the Chinese Department of the Beijing Teachers' University then teaching in the United States, made contact with Hu Ping and Chen Jun, respectively head and core member of the New York-based Chinese Alliance for Democracy, and they jointly published "Suggestions on the Reform" in Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News*, demanding the "reexamination of the movement against cultural pollution in 1983 and relevant problems in the movement against bourgeois liberalization in 1987," "the amendment of the Constitution," and the "repealing of the Four Cardinal Principles from the Constitution."

April 21

- In order to guarantee the smooth convening of the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang, the Beijing Municipal Government announced that Tiananmen Square would be cleared up from 8:00 a.m., April 22. But thousands of students, ignoring the announcement, went into Tiananmen Square on the evening of April 21 to stage a sit-down demonstration.

- A leaflet posted up by the Beijing Agricultural University quoted an inference made by Jin Guantao, editor-in-chief of

Marching Towards the Future Series, as follows, "Any organizations will produce a non-organizational force, whose mission is to shake and destroy the very existence of the organization," alleging that "the Chinese Communist Party is an organization about to perish today," that "a great turmoil is in sight in China," and that "the extinction of the Chinese Communist Party is just round the corner and everybody is waiting for it."

- The *People's Daily* ran an article by its commentator entitled "How Do We Mourn Comrade Hu Yaobang?" The article pointed out: "The illegal activities of a tiny handful of people who took advantage of mourning Hu Yaobang to direct their spearhead of attack at the Party and government and even brazenly to assault Xinhua Gate are absolutely impermissible. Safeguarding the political situation of stability and unity is the highest interest of the people all over the country. Whoever attempts to damage the situation on whatever excuses will be punished according to law. If anyone takes advantage of mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang to conduct beating, smashing, looting and burning in the Party and government departments, he will become a person condemned by history. So far, the government has adopted a restrained attitude towards the illegal activities of the small handful of people. If anyone considers the government's tolerance as a manifestation of weakness, and wilfully continues his illegal activities, he is bound to eat his own bitter fruit."

- A student of Beijing University who felt being cheated put up a big-character poster entitled "It Turned Out to Be a Scheme." The poster revealed that Li Shuxian once drew up a four-step plan for the student unrest. Li said, "First of all, we will mourn Hu Yaobang and set forth our political demands in passing. With the demand for redressing Hu Yaobang put first, they will have no way to refuse us. Second, don't just demand to rehabilitate the intellectuals who were wronged and criticized during the movement against bourgeois liberalization. To do so would divorce ourselves from the masses and easily cause misunderstanding that Teacher Fang Lizhi has a hand in it. Give no excuses to the authorities as far as possible. Moreover, people hate corruption the most and we can attack them at this point, and don't directly oppose the Four Principles. The second step is to stage a sit-in demonstration at Xinhua Gate and force

our way into it if necessary. Any police interference will amount to beating and arouse the sympathy of the people. Girl students, in particular, are softhearted. We can say policemen beat only girl students. That will also arouse the chivalry of boy students. Third, we demand to attend the memorial meeting, and many people have such a desire. In this way, things will get momentum and the influence will spread to the whole country. Fourth, the student movement will culminate at the celebration of the May 4th Movement." Li Shuxian also said, "The Communist Youth League committees and student unions in universities and colleges must be discredited so that the authorities have no assistants for help." The poster written in the name of "A Waker of Beijing University" concluded, "I am telling you the truth based on facts so that all of us stop being the victims of a conspirator."

- At the suggestion of Bao Tong, former secretary of Zhao Ziyang, Yan Jiaqi and Bao Zunxin (associate research fellow of the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) put up "An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council," pressing the government to acknowledge that demands raised in the demonstrations and sit-in protests were "positive" and "democratic demands."

April 22

- Before the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang, the square should have been cleared up according to the usual practice. As the student representatives asked to stay to attend the meeting on behalf of all the students, the funeral office had to make a concession by agreeing to their request.

Around the end of the memorial meeting, three students asked Li Peng to come out to accept their "petition." Two staff workers of the funeral office discussed with them twice and suggested that they pass it on or the students themselves come into the Great Hall of the People and hand it over to the staff workers concerned, but the student representatives did not agree. About half an hour later, the three students came to the steps leading to the east entrance of the Great Hall of the People

and knelt down, insisting that Li Peng come out and take the petition. The funeral office workers asked them to get up and offered to pass it on, but they refused again and said, "We don't want you to take it." By that time, Li Peng and the other state leaders had already left. Rumour soon spread from the square, saying that Premier Li Peng had agreed to receive the student representatives but didn't come out, and the students were fooled. The rumour intensified the students' sentiment against the government.

- The memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang was held in the central hall of the Great Hall of the People. Yang Shangkun, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and President of the State, presided over the meeting, and Zhao Ziyang, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, made the memorial speech. The memorial speech highly praised Hu Yaobang as follows, "As a Marxist, Comrade Hu Yaobang led a glorious life. In his 60-year-long revolutionary career, he has always been loyal to the Party and the people, worked painstakingly and performed immortal feats. His death is a great loss to our Party, our people and our socialist modernization drive."

More than 4,000 people including Deng Xiaoping and personages of various circles in Beijing attended the meeting.

- At the end of the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang, comrades in the central leadership again suggested to Zhao Ziyang that a meeting be held to study the student unrest before his visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 23. Instead of accepting this suggestion, Zhao went golfing as if nothing had happened. Before that, comrades in the central leadership and Beijing municipality repeatedly suggested to Zhao that the central leadership should adopt a clear-cut policy and measures to quickly check the development of the situation. But, Zhao kept avoiding making a serious analysis and discussion of the nature of the matter.

- Criminal activities of beating, smashing, looting and burning took place in Xi'an and Changsha, respectively capitals of Shaanxi and Hunan provinces.

- Liu Xiaobo published an article entitled "Introspection on the Phenomena Brought About by Hu Yaobang's Death" in a Hong Kong-based newspaper *World Daily*. The article defined the Chinese socialist system as an "autocracy" and instigated

students to "stop looking for an open-minded monarch as a way of reform and take a new road of transforming China by changing its system." The article continued, "If the mainland students and pro-democracy intellectuals openly support the dissidents like Wei Jingsheng and the overseas *China Spring*, a journal run by the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, while they are supporting the liberal faction within the Party, the democratization of China will surely be accelerated."

April 23

- A decision on class boycott was made by 20 institutions of higher learning in Beijing including Beijing University, Qinghua University, Chinese People's University, University of Political Science and Law, Beijing Science and Engineering University, Beijing Teachers' University, Central Institute for Nationalities, Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics and the Central Communist Youth League School. They wantonly played up the so-called "April 20 bloody incident" and "the crying and kneeling down for petition," alleging that they could do nothing but to boycott classes after they had failed in petition.

The campus of Beijing University was full of big-character posters on "class boycott." In the Triangular Area appeared one signed by the newly established student union. The poster charged the government for closing the *China Science and Technology Daily*, saying, "The leaders of the newspaper office have offered to resign." Actually, there was no such a thing at all.

Students of a few universities staged on-campus demonstrations. They shouted, "The time Li Peng steps down and resigns is when we go back to the classes."

- Representatives from 29 colleges and universities held a meeting at Yuanmingyuan and set up an illegal organization called "Interim College Student Union of Beijing," which was the predecessor of the "Autonomous Union of University Students." They elected Zhou Yongjun of the University of Political Science and Law chairman, and Wang Dan, Wuerkaixi, Ma Shaofang and Zang Kai members of the union.

- Zhao Ziyang left Beijing to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

- One hundred and sixty young teachers of Beijing University joined a signature drive to support the students' class boycott.

April 24

Sixty thousand students from 40 institutions of higher learning in Beijing did not go to class on this day while the majority of schools continued to operate as usual.

Students of Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University who supported class boycott prevented other students from going to the classes. Some students of the University of Political Science and Law were stopped on their way to an examination room. In Chinese People's University, students unable to go to the classes had to study in the library and reading rooms.

Students of some universities holding their school flags took to the streets to put up posters, make speeches and solicit contributions.

- The number of posters and slogans in 60 colleges and universities increased drastically to 2,100, most of which focused on making known to the public the so-called "April 20 bloody incident," demagoguing and attacking the Party and government leaders. In the Beijing Electric Power College, a big-character poster read, "If the political system is not changed, how will people look at you? If the little poverty (a homonym for Xiaoping in Chinese) does not go, how will the well-off come?" In the Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics, a poster demanded: 1. To dislodge the autocracy of the Communist Party and set up a multiparty system; and 2. To get rid of the Party branches and political workers in the various organizations, army units and schools.

- In the afternoon, more than 10,000 students rallied in Beijing University and demanded a dialogue with government leaders on reforms and the course of democratization. They also demanded the disbanding of the Student Union and Postgraduate Union of Beijing University. As participants of the rally were separated by different opinions and locked in a heated debate, the rally ended in disorder.

- Some physics and mathematics professors of Beijing Teachers' University wrote a poster entitled "Our Opinions" to express

their support and understanding of the student unrest.

- The *People's Daily* ran an article of its commentator entitled "Turn the Grief into Strength." The article pointed out, "The first phase of the mourning activities has been completed. Our task in the future is to turn our grief into strength and throw all our enthusiasm for our country, democracy, reforms and construction into the practical work of the Four Modernizations and revitalizing China.... The on-going drive of economic rectification and deepening reforms specifically need a stable social and political situation. A society in turbulence would provide opportunities to a small number of people, who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos, landing the modernization drive in jeopardy."

- In the afternoon, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government reported to Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC. At his proposal, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau met that evening, presided over by Li Peng, to analyze and study seriously the development of the situation. A consensus was reached that all signs at that time showed we were confronted with an anti-Party and anti-socialist political struggle conducted in a planned and organized way and manipulated and instigated by a small handful of people. The meeting decided that a group for stopping the turmoil be established in the central leadership, requiring at the same time that the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government mobilize the masses fully and win over the majority so as to isolate the minority and strive to put down the turmoil and stabilize the situation as soon as possible.

April 25

- The class boycott of Beijing college students entered its second day. Sixty thousand students participated in the boycott, accounting for 40 percent of total number of students in Beijing, and they were from 46 colleges and universities, 67.6 percent of the total number.

- In the morning, Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, expressing his full agreement and support to the decision of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and making an incisive

analysis of the nature of the turmoil. He pointed out that this was not a case of ordinary student unrest, but a political turmoil aimed at negating the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system.

- According to the authorities of Qinghua University, on the morning of April 24, some students of the university demanded a dialogue with the persons in charge of the State Council, and their demand gained considerable attention from the State Council, the State Education Commission and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, which decided that a dialogue with 18 student representatives be held in the meeting room of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee building at 2:30 on the afternoon of that day. At 2:00, Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council Liu Zhongde, Vice-Minister of the State Education Commission He Dongchang, Deputy Secretary-General of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee Wang Jialiu as well as persons in charge of the All-China Student Federation and the Beijing Student Federation all showed up in the meeting room. But they waited until 4:15 and there was still no sign of any student. The Qinghua University leaders called the students several times on the phone, urging them to come to the meeting but only got the answer that, as views differed on choosing representatives, the students could not reach a consensus and send their representatives.

- At 7:00 in the evening, the China Central Television broadcast in advance the editorial "Take a Clear-Cut Stand Against Turmoil" to be carried in the *People's Daily* on April 26.

April 26

- The *People's Daily* issued the editorial "Take a Clear-Cut Stand Against Turmoil." The editorial pointed out, "In the wake of the mourning service, a handful of people with ulterior motives have continued to use the grief of students to fabricate various rumours and incite the people, using big-character and small-character posters to defame, hurl invectives at and attack Party and state leaders. They wantonly violated the country's Constitution by advocating opposition to the Communist Party's leadership and the socialist system. In some colleges and universities they have formed illegal organizations to "seize power"

from student unions, and some of them have forcibly occupied broadcasting rooms. Some incited students and teachers to stage strikes, even preventing students from going to classes. They have resorted to the unauthorized use of the names of workers' organizations to distribute reactionary leaflets, and continued to resort to demagoguery in an attempt to stir up more serious trouble.

"The facts show that these people are not engaged in memorial activities for Comrade Hu Yaobang. Nor are they advocating the advancement of socialist democracy or making more complaints of dissatisfaction. Under the banner of democracy, they are trampling on both democracy and law. Their purpose is to poison people's minds, create national turmoil and sabotage the nation's political stability and unity. This is a planned conspiracy, a turmoil which, in essence, aims at fundamentally negating the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the socialist system."

The Beijing and Shanghai municipal Party committees each convened a mass meeting attended by over 10,000 cadres who are Party members, requiring all the Party members to take a clear-cut stand against turmoil.

- The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee decided on the day that the newspaper *World Economic Herald* be rectified and Qin Benli removed from his post as the editor-in-chief and member of the leading Party group. The decision was announced by Jiang Zemin, Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, before 14,000 Party members and cadres at the meeting. The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee decided at the same time that a leading rectification group be stationed in the office of the *World Economic Herald*.

On April 24, the *World Economic Herald* ran a report on a forum for mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang. Participants of the forum were those intellectuals who all along clung to their position of bourgeois liberalization. At the forum, they wantonly advocated redressing Comrade Hu Yaobang and reversing the verdict on the movement against bourgeois liberalization. The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee had a talk with Qin Benli, editor-in-chief of the newspaper, hoping that they only published excerpts of the report for fear of igniting the sparks of turmoil. Qin overtly agreed to do so, but eventually put that

issue of the newspaper, which had already been printed, into circulation as he had originally intended.

- Students in the capital stopped making speeches and collecting money in the streets. At night, some students of Beijing University held a rally in the Triangular Area to discuss whether they should stage a demonstration on April 27 as originally planned. At the same time, the university authorities repeatedly broadcast on the campus the relevant regulations on parade and demonstration issued by the Standing Committee of the Beijing Municipal People's Congress.

- As the April 26 editorial of the *People's Daily* had disclosed that the organizers and plotters of the student unrest behind the scene aimed at opposing the Communist Party and toppling the government under its leadership, they were forced to change their strategy. Li Shuxian instructed Wang Dan to change the slogans used in the demonstration. Then they issued "No. 1 Order of the New Student Union" to urge students to "march to Tiananmen under the banner of supporting the Communist Party" on April 27. The designated slogans included "Support the Communist Party," "Support Socialism" and "Safeguard the Constitution." They also changed their subversive slogans such as "Down with the Bureaucratic Government," "Down with the Corrupt Government," "Down with the Dictatorial Rule," etc. into those like "Oppose Bureaucracy, Oppose Corruption and Oppose Privileges," and other slogans that could win support from people of various circles.

- A big-character poster entitled "An Open Letter to the Chinese College Students" put up in the Triangular Area of Beijing University said, "The disturbance created by some students has already affected China at present and is bound to affect in a larger scale China in the future." The poster also urged students to "consolidate the established organizational links," "issue their own news dispatches and other publications," "increase contacts with various circles in society (including workers, peasants, citizens and intellectuals) to win over their support and involvement," and "realize freedom on the campus including the freedom of founding various fully autonomous organizations and freedom of expression on the campus (democracy wall on the campus, big-character posters and various debates held at academic forums)," and "be ready to put up big-

character posters and stage street demonstrations and class boycott at any time."

The open letter was drawn up in New York by Liu Xiaobo, a lecturer of the Chinese Department of Beijing Teachers' University, and signed by 10 people including heads of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy Hu Ping and Chen Jun. After being published in an American newspaper, it was quickly transmitted to Beijing.

• According to an evening news report broadcast in the University of Political Science and Law, Yan Jiaqi, Li Zehou (former research fellow of the Institute of Philosophy of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Yu Haocheng (former director of the China Research Institute of Legality and Social Development) and others had set up the Union of the Chinese Intellectuals the day before.

April 27

FAt 8:00 in the morning, over 30,000 students from 38 colleges and universities took to the streets for a demonstration, holding banners and chanting slogans. Their slogans were no longer "Down with the Communist Party," "Overthrow Socialism," and "Abolish the Four Cardinal Principles." They were replaced by "Support the Communist Party," "Safeguard the Constitution," "Safeguard the Four Cardinal Principles," "Get Rid of Corruption," "Down with Official Profiteering," etc. Repeated and patient dissuasion from university leaders, departments concerned of the Beijing Municipal Government and policemen failed to stop them from staging the demonstration. All the demonstrators gathered at Tiananmen Square and began to go back to school at 6:00 p.m.

As the demonstration contingents marched along the main avenues of the capital and attracted large numbers of on-lookers, there was a serious traffic jam in Beijing. Eight hundred buses and trolley buses on 49 lines were blocked, affecting about 300,000 passengers.

The public security policemen maintaining order stuck to disciplines and exercised restraint. There was no conflict during the 16-hour-long demonstration.

• Liu Xiaobo, dispatched by the Chinese Alliance for Democ-

racy, arrived in Beijing from New York and immediately made contact with heads of the "Autonomous Union of University Students" such as Wuerkaixi and Wang Dan. He passed on to them and the "student union" of the Beijing Teachers' University several thousand US dollars and 10,000 yuan contributed by Wang Bingzhang, former head of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy and now the chieftain of China Democratic Party, and others.

- The State Council spokesman Yuan Mu issued a statement on the student demonstration to express welcome to the students' demand for a dialogue. He said that the Party and government had all along advocated direct dialogues with the masses, but the dialogues must be conducted in suitable atmosphere and appropriate ways.

- The Xinhua News Agency reported that correspondents had asked the persons in the know to reveal the facts and clarify such rumours as the "April 20 bloody incident," "police car running down and killing a girl college student participating in the memorial activities," and "Li Peng cheating the students by breaking his promise to receive their representatives."

April 28

- Sixty thousand students from over 30 colleges and universities in Beijing continued their class boycott, but some universities operated as normal. Big-character and small-character posters in considerable numbers could still be seen in some schools, and some of the posters demanded a dialogue with persons in charge of the State Council and the NPC Standing Committee.

- The All-China Student Federation and the Beijing Student Federation issued an announcement, asking student unions and postgraduate unions in colleges and universities to widely collect opinions, suggestions and demands of the students, and report them in time to the two student federations. On that basis, the student federations would organize multi-level dialogues in appropriate time.

- The "Interim College Student Union of Beijing" changed its name to the "Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students," hence the birth of the organization. The meeting decided

that the late chairman of the union Zhou Yongjun be recalled and succeeded by Wuerkaixi, a student representative from Beijing Teachers' University. Zhou was voted down on the ground that he issued a notice of cancelling the April 27 demonstration to many colleges and universities in the evening of April 26.

The Beijing "Autonomous Union of University Students" disclosed its agreement on the tentative programme for the dialogue, which was based on the "seven demands" raised on the previous day by Beijing University. The demands included that official representatives for the dialogue must be leaders of the NPC Standing Committee or the State Council, that the student representatives must be from the "Autonomous Union" and not from any other student organization, that it would be better to arrange the dialogue in a university auditorium rather than in a government department and that reporters should be present during the dialogue. They also declared that various institutions of higher learning would go on with their class boycott before the dialogue was conducted.

- With regard to the removal of Qin Benli from his post as the editor-in-chief of the *World Economic Herald*, Yan Jiaqi and some others from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences wrote an open letter to the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, claiming that the Party committee had no right to dismiss the editor-in-chief from his post and it had trampled upon the Constitution and law.

More than 200 correspondents from various mass media units in Beijing sent a telegram to the *World Economic Herald* to express their sympathy and condemn the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee for violating the Party Constitution by making the decision on rectifying the newspaper.

- Yan Mingfu, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, said at the meeting for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the All-China Youth Federation that comrades of the federation should mingle with the young people and have dialogues with them in order to timely report the students' justified demands and through our work make them understand what they do not understand. He also said that fighting against corruption and bureaucracy and for democracy as raised by the students in their

slogans were just what our Party and government were endeavouring to do.

April 29

- Entrusted by the State Council and Premier Li Peng, the State Council spokesman Yuan Mu, Vice-Minister of the State Education Commission He Dongchang, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee Yuan Liben and Vice-Mayor of Beijing Lu Yucheng held a dialogue with 45 student representatives from 16 institutions of higher learning in Beijing in the meeting room of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League in the afternoon. Both sides exchanged views on punishing "official profiteering," examining and screening corporations and companies, building a clean and upright government, and developing education, and also views on news reporting and students' class boycott and demonstration.

In the beginning of the conversation, Yuan Mu said, "Premier Li Peng has specifically asked me to tell you and, through you, to all the college students of Beijing that the charges of negating the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and socialist system mentioned in the *People's Daily* editorial are directed at the illegal activities of a tiny minority of people, not at the majority of students."

On the problem of "official profiteering" raised by the students, Yuan said that resolving the problem would depend first on exposure and then on the setting up of a system. He also gave several examples to show that the Party and government were earnest in punishing "official profiteering," embezzlement and bribe-taking to eliminate corruption.

When a student proposed that the government hold a dialogue with the "Autonomous Union of University Students," Yuan Mu and He Dongchang made it clear that they came to talk with the students invited by the All-China Student Federation and the Beijing Student Federation, and that they did not recognize the illegal organization whose establishment was unauthorized.

The China Central Television televised live the dialogue.

- The *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "Safeguard

the Overall Situation and Stability." The editorial said, "China needs stability. The task of overwhelming importance at present is to safeguard social stability. Ignoring or violating this task will only bring disaster to the nation and the country."

- Wuerkaixi was also invited to the dialogue, but, after he had arrived at the Student Federation, he refused to attend the dialogue and spoke to the foreign reporters at the entrance, alleging that the government stopped him from participating in the dialogue and the government had no sincerity for a dialogue. He also said that he did not recognize the dialogue organized by the All-China Student Federation and the Beijing Student Federation, declaring that the dialogue was only an informal discussion. He claimed that the institutions of higher learning would continue their class boycott until there was a true dialogue.

April 30

- At the invitation of the Student Union of Beijing, Li Ximing, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, Chen Xitong, State Councillor and Mayor of Beijing, and others held a dialogue in the afternoon with twenty-nine students from the seventeen universities and colleges under Beijing Municipality to discuss the questions concerning the punishment of official profiteers, the fight against government corruption, the development of education and the nature of the student unrest, etc. During the dialogue, Li Ximing said that students should correctly understand the spirit of the *People's Daily* editorial of April 26; that the turmoil mentioned in the editorial was instigated by only a handful of people with ulterior motives. Although students disliked the warning against their "being used by others," Li said, still they should be reminded of the fact that a small number of people did attempt to mess things up through students' actions. In addition, the leading comrades of the relevant central ministries and commissions respectively went to colleges and universities under their jurisdiction to have dialogues with the students.

- Zhao Ziyang came back to Beijing after ending his visit to Korea.

May 1

• In the morning the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students stated at a news briefing held on the campus of Beijing University that it refused to recognize the two dialogues with students carried out respectively on April 29 and April 30 by the State Council and the Beijing Municipal Government. Its major reasons were that the Autonomous Union of University Students had not sent its representatives to attend the dialogues; and since it had not received any reply to the seven demands it put forward to the government, students reserved the right to continue class boycott and demonstration in the streets on May 4.

May 2

• Scores of students from the colleges and universities in Beijing went to the reception offices of the bureaus for receiving letters and visits under the general offices of the Party Central Committee and the State Council to present a "petition" to the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Party Central Committee, putting forward twelve demands and a four-point statement relative to the dialogue. The contents of the petition are as follows:

1. The dialogue attended by both parties should be based on complete equality and solving the problems with sincerity. During the dialogue, both parties should have equal opportunities to speak and raise questions.

2. The student representatives who will take part in the dialogue should be generally acknowledged and elected by the majority of the college students (especially those who participated in the April patriotic democratic movement). Meanwhile, in view of the fact that the student unions and the graduate-student unions of all universities and colleges had not played any correct guiding or beneficial role in this movement, we will not agree to these unions choosing their own student representatives, nor will we acknowledge student representatives invited by the government itself without the approval of the great masses of students.

3. Student representatives should be chosen in the following way: As the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students

spontaneously organized by the students themselves has played a leading role in the movement and has been accepted by the great number of students, it may be responsible for organizing a student delegation, which is to be composed of a certain number of representatives chosen by the colleges and universities in Beijing according to the size of the student body in these colleges and universities. After full discussion and consultation, a certain number of student spokesmen shall be selected as the major spokesmen for the student side. Other representatives shall attend the dialogue as observers, with the right to offer advices to their spokesmen and make additional remarks to the latter's omissions and to ask the government spokesmen questions.

4. The government representatives to the dialogue must be people holding positions at or above the Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee or vice-premier of the State Council with knowledge of state affairs and the power to make decisions.

5. Both parties must be allowed to invite representatives of nongovernmental personnel and people's organizations to listen in as visitors to the dialogue and neither side shall refuse or stop them on any ground. These representatives do not have the right to speak at the dialogue, but have the right to express their opinions on the contents of the dialogue after the meeting.

6. Spokesmen of both sides must have the right to equal opportunities of speaking. The time length of a speech by either side must be limited to no more than three minutes for questions and ten to fifteen minutes for answers at a time. Spokesmen should be allowed to raise questions time and again during the dialogue.

7. In the course of the dialogue, Chinese and foreign journalists must be allowed to cover the news on the spot. Meanwhile the China Central Television and the Central People's Broadcasting Station should broadcast live the whole process of the dialogue. Either side has the right to videotape, record and take notes on the spot. No organization or individual may interfere with or obstruct these operations under any excuses.

8. Dialogues should be held alternately in locations respectively designated by representatives of the government and

students and the time may be decided by both sides through consultation.

9. Government representatives should try their best to answer questions that can be answered in the course of the dialogue and solve the questions that can be solved after the meeting. If there truly exist questions that cannot be answered immediately, both sides may decide through consultation to hold the next round of the dialogue within a prescribed time-limit and neither side should refuse unreasonably.

10. In order to ensure the legal effect of the results of the dialogue, a joint communique on these results must be signed and published by both parties.

11. The personal and political safety of the representatives of both parties must be guaranteed.

12. After each round of the dialogue, all major state newspapers and television stations should report the results according to the facts, and a public announcement be made regarding the time and place for the next round.

With respect to the above-mentioned demands, we wish to make the following announcement:

1. In order to start the dialogue as soon as possible, we hope the government will give us a reply concerning the above demands before 12:00 of May 3. Based on concrete replies to concrete demands, reasons for each answer should be attached and a written document made accordingly.

2. If we don't get any reply before 12:00 on May 3, we shall reserve the right to continue the petition on May 4.

3. We suggest that the first round of the dialogue be held in Beijing University at 8:30 a.m. on May 4.

4. A copy of this petition shall be submitted to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

• More than four thousand students from some of the universities and colleges in Shanghai took to the streets to demonstrate. The Shanghai Municipal Government held that the patriotic enthusiasm of the students could be understood, but that demonstrations could not help the solution of problems. The Shanghai Student Union began to organize some of the college students for a dialogue with the municipal leaders concerned.

May 3

• In the morning, the State Council spokesman Yuan Mu answered the questions raised by Chinese and foreign correspondents concerning the "petition" submitted by part of the university students in Beijing. He pointed out that the students' stand expressed in the "petition" about welcoming dialogues was identical with that of the government. This kind of dialogues would facilitate the solving of problems through the exchange of ideas and the furthering of mutual understanding, said Yuan Mu, but it would not be negotiations between the government and students as two rival parties. He pointed out:

The "petition" submitted by part of the students yesterday put forward a series of preconditions. Much earlier, I had already said that dialogues should be based on mutual trust and sincerity and there should not be any preconditions. The "petition" includes a total of twelve demands, which can be summed up into the following three key demands: First, the All-China Students' Federation, the Beijing Students' Federation, and the student unions and graduate-student unions of all universities and colleges which were elected through democratic procedures, should be excluded from the dialogues in favour of the representatives of the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students set up illegally in the demonstrations. This is neither reasonable nor beneficial to unity among the students, and may touch off disputes among the students, which the government does not want to see. Second, the students should be on an equal footing with the government and become a rival party to negotiations or even be placed above the government. This is not reasonable. Moreover, to a certain extent, it displays a childish impulse on the part of these young people. The "petition" not only brings forth conditions that the government must accept before the dialogue, but it also demands that the government representatives to the dialogues be approved by them. They demand that these representatives must be people holding positions at or above the Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee or vice-premier. I think that public opinion will not support these demands either. Third, the "petition" puts forward such harsh terms and demands a reply within a set time. If no reply comes on time, the "petition" says, the students will continue to demonstrate. This is something like an ultimatum.

The "petition" reveals that some people did operate behind the students to fan up the social turmoil.

- The Beijing Public Security Bureau issued a public notice: So that the activities to commemorate the May 4th Movement sponsored by the departments concerned may go on smoothly, traffic control shall be enforced in the Tiananmen area.

- In the afternoon the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students made a resolution on holding a demonstration on Tiananmen Square to commemorate the May 4th Movement and petitioning for the people. Wuerkaixi, leader of the Beijing Federation of University Students who initiated this special meeting, said that this demonstration was organized not merely because Yuan Mu at the press conference had refused to dialogue with them, but also because they wished to promote the democratic reform through commemorating the May 4th Movement. More than sixty students from forty-seven universities and colleges in Beijing attended this special meeting.

Wuerkaixi denied that the democratic movement of the Beijing students had anything to do with Fang Lizhi and with the United States-based Chinese Alliance for Democracy. He also criticized the speech made by Yuan Mu today, saying that his speech was lacking in logic and also in sincerity towards the student demand for dialogues.

- About a hundred journalists in the capital held a rally, at which an open letter to the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Press Administration was adopted. The letter stated that the action taken by the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee to straighten things out in the *World Economic Herald* was against the law, demanding that the Municipal Party Committee annul the decision of terminating Qin Benli's work as editor-in-chief of the newspaper and make a public apology. It also demanded that high-ranking officials in charge of propaganda work hold dialogues with journalists. The participants at the rally called for holding a demonstration on the fourth. They were from all major news units in the capital, including the Xinhua News Agency, *People's Daily*, *Economic Daily* and *China Youth Daily*.

May 4

- When Zhao Ziyang met with the heads of the delegations

of the members of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the high-ranking officials of the ADB attending the 22nd annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank, he analyzed the current domestic situation. He held that now we needed badly calmness, reason, restraint and order and should solve the problems along democratic and legal lines. He said: "There will be no big turmoil in China. I am fully confident of this.... The basic attitude of the overwhelming majority of students in the demonstrations towards the Communist Party and government is that they are at once satisfied and dissatisfied. They are by no means opposed to our fundamental system. Rather they are asking us to correct mistakes in our work." He also said: "Are there people who want to take advantage of or who are taking advantage of the students' action? This is hardly avoidable in a large country like China."

This speech of Zhao Ziyang's, prepared by Bao Tong, Zhao's former secretary and the director of the Commission for Structural Reform, is obviously not identical with the spirit of the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial. The wide spread of the speech caused grave ideological confusion among a great number of cadres and people, while organizers and plotters of the turmoil were greatly encouraged. Yan Jiaqi, Cao Siyuan (director of the Development Research Institute of the Stone Company) and others said: "Things have turned for the better. It is necessary to mobilize the intellectuals to support Zhao Ziyang." Zhang Xianyang (research fellow of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) said: "Aren't we supposed to make use of the students? Zhao Ziyang is now doing just this."

- Several ten thousand students from more than sixty universities and colleges in the capital, including Beijing University, Qinghua University, Chinese People's University and Beijing Teachers' University, took to the streets. The banners carried by the demonstrators revealed that there were also college students from Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan, Tianjin, Dalian, Jilin and other cities, in addition to some from Hong Kong. On the way onlookers numbered several hundred thousand. The public security personnel and policemen did their best to maintain order and did not have conflicts with the demonstrators. At about 3 p.m., the demonstrators assembled at Tiananmen Square

and read out the May 4th Manifesto, demanding implementation of democratic reform on campus, promotion of political structural reform and legislation of journalism. Then the organizers of the demonstration declared that from May 5, all colleges and universities in Beijing would resume class. At around 4 p.m., the demonstrators started to leave the square.

- College students in Tianjin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Hangzhou, Xi'an, Lanzhou, Guangzhou and Fuzhou staged demonstrations to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement.

- Journalists in the capital joined in the demonstrations of the students. When they set off at the Xinhua News Agency at 12:00, there were only 50 of them, followed later by 150 more. They called for freedom of the press and the telling of truth by the press and demanded the restoration of Qin Benli to his post of editor-in-chief of the *World Economic Herald* and asked for sincere dialogues with the government. These journalists were from more than twenty news units in Beijing, such as the Xinhua News Agency, *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, and *China Youth Daily*. According to them, they only represented themselves instead of their respective units.

May 5

- All colleges and universities in the capital except Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University resumed class, thus ending the class boycott which had lasted for about two weeks. About 80 percent of the students who had taken part in class boycott attended class, the rest continuing the boycott on the ground that dialogues with government leaders had not been held yet.

May 6

- Zhao Ziyang said to Hu Qili and Rui Xingwen, both in charge of propaganda and ideological work in the Central Committee, that the press "has opened a bit and there have been reports about the demonstrations. There is no big risk to open up a bit by reporting the demonstrations and increase the openness of news." He even said: "Confronted with the will of the people at home and the progressive trend worldwide, we

could only guide our actions according to circumstances." His instructions were passed on to major news media units in the capital the same day and many arrangements were made afterwards. As a result, the *People's Daily* and many other national newspapers and periodicals adopted an attitude of full acknowledgement and active support to the demonstrations, sit-in and hunger strike, devoting lengthy coverages with no less exaggeration. A great number of readers expressed their surprise, and many got the wrong idea that the central authorities supported the students' demonstrations and hunger strike.

- Four members of the Beijing college students' dialogue delegation submitted a petition to the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council and the Party Central Committee. This petition was drawn up at the China University of Political Science and Law this afternoon by forty delegates elected by twenty-four universities and colleges in Beijing. It mainly demanded dialogues, asking the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council to appoint representatives promptly to consult with the student dialogue delegation about the terms concerning the dialogues. In the evening, the General Office of the Party Central Committee asked the student representatives to wait for a reply at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of May 8, at the spot where they had handed in the petition.

May 7

- In the morning, the minister and two deputy ministers of agriculture invited 20-some students from the Beijing Agricultural University and the Beijing Agricultural Engineering University to a sincere dialogue on agricultural production, agricultural education, peasants' benefits, and so on.

In the afternoon, five deputy ministers of the Ministry of Machine-Building and Electronics Industry and some of its department and bureau directors held a dialogue with twenty students from the Beijing University of Science and Technology, the Beijing Machine-Building Administration Institute and the Beijing Information Engineering Institute under the ministry's jurisdiction. They exchanged opinions with the students on the increase of educational funds, the improvement of teaching and living conditions and job assignment for college students, the

appraisal of the student unrest, the straightening out of the colour TV market, the restriction of car import, etc. Some of the students said they welcomed this sincere dialogue conducted on an equal footing.

May 8

- When leaders of the bureaus for receiving letters and visits under the general offices of the Party Central Committee and the State Council gave a reply to the "petition" signed in the name of twenty-four colleges and universities and submitted by the four students on May 6 to the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council, they said that the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and the State Council would contact and have dialogues extensively with workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, teachers, non-Party personages, etc. It was said that the "petition" demanded "sincere, constructive and public dialogues on questions such as the current students' patriotic and democratic movement, the deepening of the political and economic structural reforms and the promotion of the building of democracy and legal system." The leaders of the bureaus said that the leading comrades concerned of the State Council and the Beijing Municipality had held dialogues recently with a number of students, and some of the ministers had been to universities and colleges, visiting the students' dormitories and offices or inviting students to dialogue with them at the ministries. The dialogues had achieved good results, according to the bureau leaders, and in the future multi-level and multi-channel dialogues would be held continuously to exchange views with the college students. In order to make the dialogues more successful, they said, the Students' Federation of Beijing and the student unions at colleges and universities will continue to collect opinions from students on the topics of the dialogues and how to hold the dialogues well. The bureau leaders also expressed the readiness of the NPC Standing Committee leaders to hold dialogues extensively with the students and people from other walks of life.

- Strongly urged by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the Beijing Municipal People's Government, Zhao Ziyang held a meeting. When someone said his speech on May 4 was

not in accord with the spirit of the April 26 editorial, Zhao sternly retorted, "I'll be responsible for what was wrong in my speech."

May 9

- Several hundred journalists in the capital took to the streets and presented a letter signed by 1,013 people from more than thirty news media units and the Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald* to the All-China Journalists' Association, asking for dialogues with the leading comrades in charge of propaganda work in the Party Central Committee.

The major topics of the dialogues suggested in the letter are:

1. The reorganization of the Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald* and suspending Qin Benli from his duties as the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, which has caused strong reactions at home and abroad.

2. A large-scale student unrest has occurred in the capital. The press circle in the capital has suffered various kinds of restrictions in reporting the important event. Now it is imperative to secure common understanding in the whole Party and nation on how to improve Party leadership over the press work.

3. There exists serious malpractice in the work of China's news coverage.

The All-China Journalists' Association promised to convey their opinions to the department concerned and try its best to arrange dialogues. The person who handed in the joint letter said that the journalists signed their names on behalf of themselves instead of their respective units.

- Beijing University continued class boycott. About three hundred college students gathered in front of the All-China Journalists' Association to support the journalists.

College students took to the streets again, spreading leaflets and calling for continued class boycott and a hunger strike. Since then the situation turned from bad to worse and the turmoil was pushed to a new height.

- Hu Qili, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and head of the leading group of propaganda and ideological work in the Central Committee agreed to holding a dialogue with those from the press

circle and asked the All-China Journalists' Association to arrange it as soon as possible. Hu Qili gave instructions on the telephone concerning the students and journalists' demand for dialogues, saying: "Dialogues with students, journalists and intellectuals and people from other walks of life should be carried on according to the spirit of Zhao Ziyang's May 4 speech."

May 10

- Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, presided over a meeting attended by the chairman and vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress to discuss the convening of the eighth session of the Standing Committee. The meeting suggested that the session hear a report on straightening things out in companies and a report on the student demonstrations. It was decided that the session be held around June 20 for a length of about a week.

- The Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students organized a demonstration on bikes, attended by about ten thousand students from eleven universities and colleges. The purpose of the demonstration was to support the journalists' petition for news freedom. The demonstration lasted for two hours, causing traffic jam. Police helped maintain order and clear the way and did not interfere. The number of onlookers reduced greatly.

- On May 10 and 11, several thousand students from some of the institutions of higher learning in Taiyuan of Shanxi Province took to the streets and staged a sit-in in front of the Yingze Guesthouse and the provincial government, asking for dialogues with the governor. They interfered with the on-going International Economic and Technological Cooperation Fair, the Import and Export Commodities Fair and the Folk Arts Festival, causing extremely bad impressions.

- More than a hundred young writers, including Su Xiaokang, the chief writer of the *River Elegy*, and editors and journalists from the press units such as the Writers' Press, *Literary Gazette*, and *Chinese Women Weekly* joined in the students' demonstration on bicycles. At its closing stage the demonstration drew several ten thousand onlookers on their way home from work.

May 11

- The persons in charge of the bureaus for receiving letters and visits under the general offices of the Party Central Committee and the State Council informed the four student representatives on the telephone that the petition submitted by them on May 6 had been handed to the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee attached great importance to the questions raised by the students, said these persons, and was discussing them and would, within the week, give official answers to the students on the concrete matters relative to the dialogue. They also said that the Party Central Committee understood well the students' anxiety for the dialogue.

The government had initially decided on its representatives to the dialogue, including Li Tieying, State Councillor and minister of the State Education Commission, and Yan Mingfu, member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and head of the United Front Work Department.

- In the afternoon Hu Qili went to the *China Youth Daily* to listen to the opinions of the editors and journalists who had asked for a dialogue, and promised to arrange it as soon as possible.

May 12

- Wan Li and his party left Beijing for a visit to Canada and the United States.

- The *People's Daily* published a commentator's article entitled "Jointly Maintain the Stable Situation." It pointed out: "Most of the students have resumed class.... However, part of the students in some universities and colleges in Beijing have not resumed class and continued demonstrations, which have affected to a certain extent the city's traffic and normal social order. It is hoped that these students will think it over, take a reasonable attitude and go back to class as soon as possible so as to jointly maintain the stable situation and the normal order of our country and of all aspects of the social life."

- At noon, a notice on starting a hunger strike at Tiananmen Square at 12:00 on May 13 was posted on the campuses of Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University. The decision

on the hunger strike was made on May 11 by the Autonomous Union of University Students.

May 13

- At 2 a.m., leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students raised the demand for a dialogue, which was accepted two hours later by the General Office of the Party Central Committee and that of the State Council. However, the students suddenly cancelled the dialogue at daybreak.

In the morning, the bureaus for receiving letters and visits under the general offices of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the NPC Standing Committee notified students twice of the decision to hold the dialogue with them on May 15. The students expressed their agreement. However, after the government had agreed to their first proposed name list of 20 participants, they demanded the number be increased to 200. Without waiting for further discussion, they accused the government of being totally insincere towards the dialogue. Only four hours after they had been informed of the dialogue, they made public a "hunger strike declaration," protesting against the government's "negative attitude" towards the dialogue. May 13 was chosen as the date to start the hunger strike "to put pressure on them by way of Gorbachev's China visit," as Wang Dan, leader of the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students, put it.

- Several hundred college students in Beijing, together with a few Shanghai students, who were the first group of Shanghai students to Beijing for presenting a petition, marched to Tiananmen Square for a hunger strike. The fasting students were mainly from Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University. The hunger strike declaration said that the strike was staged to protest against the government's "indifference" towards the class boycott launched by the Beijing students, against its "delaying" the dialogue with the delegation of the colleges and universities in Beijing and to urge the government to hold "substantive and equal" dialogues with the delegation of the Beijing colleges and universities. They also demanded of the government "rectification of the name" for the student movement. In the evening, two groups of students, totalling more than a thousand, joined in the hunger-strike. The students

supporting them and onlookers reached some 40,000. Students from the Beijing Medical University came to the square with medicines for first-aid.

- In the morning, Li Peng visited the Capital Iron and Steel Company and had a dialogue with the workers and leading cadres on such questions as improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, deepening the reform, developing production, and the current situation. When the workers brought forth their opinions on the students' demonstrations, Li Peng said that the government welcomed criticism and suggestions from workers, students and the broad masses. Some of the opinions from the students, according to Li Peng, did reflect the existing problems in society and in our work, such as the chaos in the economy, bureaucracy and certain corruptions in Party and government departments. "The Party and government are working out a series of effective measures to solve these problems through democratic and legal channels. We will push the political structural reform further while continuing to deepen the economic structural reform," said Li Peng.

- In the afternoon, while talking with the representatives of Beijing's workers at the Great Hall of the People, Zhao Ziyang said that he had heard the students had planned for a demonstration during Gorbachev's China visit. He said: "The Party and government have been earnestly considering how to meet the reasonable demands recently put forward by students, workers and other people. Multi-form and multi-channel dialogues are being arranged.... Whoever, no matter they are students or other citizens, interfere with the international conference and the Sino-Soviet Summit merely because they have complaints against their own units or the government, are being unreasonable and will not have sympathy and support from the people. I hope the masses of students will keep their senses, take the interests of the whole into account, and safeguard the prestige and interests of the country conscientiously. Don't respond to or support any action detrimental to the country's interests, to the prestige and image of the Chinese people. Don't do anything for which our friends will feel sorry and our enemy will feel happy."

- Leading members in charge of propaganda in the Party Central Committee respectively went to the *Guangming Daily*,

People's Daily and the Institute of Journalism of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to have discussions with the staff there. The staff members raised many criticisms about the news media reform. The leading members stressed the need to carry out the reform along democratic and legal lines.

- In the evening, Yan Mingfu, member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, invited some students and teachers for a dialogue, including some fasting students, who raised some demands at the meeting. Yan Mingfu commented frankly on these demands and promised to convey them accurately to the Party Central Committee.

May 14

- A small number of fasting students at Tiananmen Square suffered from vertigo, stomach cramp and other diseases because of cold and hunger. As the students refused to have contacts with the government, the Beijing Municipal Government in the name of the Red Cross Society sent ambulances for a rescue and had part of the students sent to the hospitals. Some college leaders went to Tiananmen Square to try to talk the fasting students into going back to school, while some teachers and writers expressed their support to the fasting students.

- In the evening, Yan Jiaqi, Liu Zaifu, Dai Qing, Wen Yuankai, Su Xiaokang and Bao Zunxin went to Tiananmen Square to convey their sympathy and solicitude to the fasting students. They read out "Our Urgent Appeal for Current Situation" jointly signed by twelve scholars. The Appeal called upon the fasting students to leave Tiananmen Square for the time being for the successful completion of the Sino-Soviet Summit, but on three preconditions: 1. leaders of the Party Central Committee should make a statement affirming the student unrest as a patriotic democratic movement; 2. the government should not resort to violence or "square accounts after the autumn harvest" with the students; 3. the authorities should admit the student organization that leads the student movement is legal. If these demands were not met, the Appeal declared, they would support the student struggle through to the end.

- Before dawn, two students from Hong Kong declared to the fasting students on the square that they would donate 140,000

Hong Kong dollars to them as funds for the student movement. After that, the two students joined in the hunger strike.

- In the morning, the General Office of the Party Central Committee informed the student dialogue delegation of its proposal on holding a dialogue in the afternoon and of its decision to cancel the quota restriction (20) with regard to the number of students to be allowed to attend the dialogue. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the student dialogue delegation arrived at the United Front Work Department. The dialogue started at 4:30 and adjourned at 7:15. Representatives of the fasting students at Tiananmen Square also attended the dialogue. Student delegates put forward three topics for the dialogue: 1. how to evaluate the student movement; 2. how to guarantee the rights of citizens prescribed in Article 35 of the Constitution; 3. how to promote China's reform. The dialogue centred mainly on the first question, on which no identical views were reached, with either party expressing its own opinions. Leading members of the State Council and the departments concerned, such as Li Tieying, Yan Mingfu and Wei Jianxing, attended the dialogue.

- At 2:30 a.m., Li Tieying, Li Ximing, Chen Xitong, An Chengxin, Li Qiyang, Wang Jialiu and Zhang Jianmin went to Tiananmen Square to persuade the students to go back to school, but the fasting students would not hear of it.

- The Beijing Public Security Bureau announced the enforcement of traffic control in the areas around Tiananmen Square and the Great Hall of the People to guarantee success for Gorbachev and his party's China visit.

May 15

- In the small hours, there were still tens of thousands of people gathered at Tiananmen Square. The number of students on hunger strike increased from the original several hundred to nearly two thousand. As the fasting students continued their hunger strike disregarding persuasions, the welcoming ceremony for the Soviet delegation headed by Gorbachev was forced to be held at the airport.

- A group of intellectuals in Beijing, including Yan Jiaqi, Liu Zaifu, Su Shaozhi and Su Xiaokang, jointly issued a "May Declaration" expressing their six-point views on the current situation.

They declared: 1) The attitude of the Party and government towards the present student movement is not sensible; 2) the legal status of the "autonomous student organization" must be recognized; 3) the biggest error during the ten-year reform does not lie in education, but in overlooking the reform of the political structure; 4) without realizing freedom of the press and lifting the ban on nongovernmental newspapers, any hope for and promise on opening-up and reform will become a mere scrap of paper; 5) it is wrong to describe the current student movement as an anti-Party, anti-socialist political turmoil; and 6) the assertion about ferreting out "a handful of abettors" and "bearded" backstage manipulators is wrong.

- Ever since the students' hunger strike began on May 13, some university and college teachers got involved in the student movement. Two hundred eighty-three teachers from Beijing University submitted a written statement, urging the authorities to start dialogues as soon as possible and to guarantee the safety of the lives of the fasting students. In the evening, a group of demonstrators holding a banner of "Teachers of Qinghua University" marched into Tiananmen Square. Today, a teachers' strike broke out at Beijing University.

- In the afternoon, intellectuals in Beijing demonstrated at Tiananmen Square to express their support to the fasting students. In the front of the procession were Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin, Ke Yunlu and Wang Luxiang, followed by tens of thousands of professors, lecturers, researchers, doctoral and master degree holders, and staff members from more than 60 units such as institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing University and Qinghua University.

- At 9 a.m., the All-China Students' Federation and Beijing Municipal Students' Federation invited 43 students from Beijing's universities and colleges to have a dialogue in Zhengxie Auditorium with Li Tieying, Yan Mingfu and other leaders of the Party Central Committee, the State Council, and relevant departments of Beijing Municipality. During the three-hour dialogue, the students asked the Party Central Committee to make a correct and clear evaluation of the current student movement and retract the label of "turmoil" put on the movement. The leaders acknowledged once more the patriotic zeal of the stu-

dents and expressed their hope for practice itself to speak for the student movement. They also warned the students that the development of events is always independent of people's good will, that they should appeal to reason and solve the problems through democratic and legal means. The students also raised other demands, such as for the resigning of Yuan Mu and He Dongchang and the reinstatement of Qin Benli as editor-in-chief of the *World Economic Herald*.

• At midnight, the general offices of the Party Central Committee and the State Council made a broadcast speech to the students on Tiananmen Square, persuading them to go back to the campus as soon as possible. The speech goes as follows: The Party and government are reviewing the sensible opinions and demands put forward by the students and will take practical measures to solve the problems. What we need now is cool-headedness, reason, restraint and order. At present, the Sino-Soviet Summit is under way. It is a great event attracting world attention. We hope the students will take the whole situation into account and not do anything harmful to the dignity and interests of our country. Now, since the students' sit-in and fasting have lasted for a fairly long time and it is getting cold at night, some students have fallen ill. Leaders of the Party Central Committee and the State Council are deeply concerned and hope they will go back to school as soon as possible.

May 16

• When meeting with Gorbachev, Zhao Ziyang said: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping has all along been the acknowledged leader of our Party at home and abroad. Though he has retired from the Central Committee and the Politburo Standing Committee, our Party still needs Comrade Deng Xiaoping, his wisdom and experience.... Therefore, it is the earnest decision of the First Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Party Central Committee that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship is still needed for the most important issues.... We have always reported to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and asked for his advices while dealing with the most important issues. And Comrade Deng Xiaoping always gives his all-out support for our work and for our collective decisions."

When this talk was made public, the number of demonstrators and the attack on Comrade Deng Xiaoping reached an all-time high. Posters and slogans demanding "Down with Deng Xiaoping" and "Deng Xiaoping should step down" were all around among the demonstrators. At Tiananmen Square even spread the rumour about Deng Xiaoping having resigned, and some people even began to set off firecrackers. Meanwhile, slogans like "Support Zhao Ziyang," "Long live Zhao Ziyang," and "Zhao Ziyang be promoted chairman of the Central Military Commission" could be seen and heard in the demonstrators' processions and at Tiananmen Square.

- The hunger strike launched by Beijing's college students came to its fourth day, and the fasting students totalled 3,000. Some of Beijing University's teachers also participated in the hunger strike. Six hundred strikers had passed out; and more than 20 hospitals had provided medical service. By the afternoon, a total of 5,000 bottles (or bags) of glucose saline had been sent to Tiananmen Square by the Beijing Emergency Centre.

- Medical workers from 22 hospitals and teachers and students of medical colleges working on the rescue site called upon the Beijing Municipal Red Cross Society promptly to adopt measures to safeguard the lives and safety of the fasting students. In the meantime, 1,200 fasting students jointly signed a statement, extending their respects to the Municipal Red Cross Society and the medical workers.

- Some university and college leading cadres, members of the CPPCC National Committee and leaders of democratic parties tried earnestly to persuade the students through every channel to end their hunger strike.

- Ten university presidents jointly published an open letter concerning the hunger strike and petition launched by some college students in Beijing. The letter reads: "We sincerely hope that the students, teachers and people from other walks of life will, out of their sense of responsibility for the lives and health of the fasting students and for the future of our country, pool their efforts to direct the development of events towards reason and order and to save the students unnecessary costs."

- Demonstrators from Beijing's educational, trade-union, scientific and technological, press, literary and art circles entered Tiananmen Square in succession to express their support to the

fasting students. Members of the China Democratic League, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang and the Jiusan Society, as well as middle school students and teachers and factory workers and staff were also seen among the demonstrators at Tiananmen Square. The demonstrators at the maximum totalled more than 500,000, and traffic was held up in the part of Chang'an Avenue between Fuxingmen and Dongdan.

- Professors, teachers and staff members from Beijing University formed a "Support-the-University-Student Corps." Meanwhile, more than 100 professors signed a letter, demanding the resigning of He Dongchang, vice-minister of the State Education Commission.

- Editors and reporters demonstrated at Tiananmen Square to support the fasting students. They distributed the "Statement of the Capital's Press Circle for Supporting the Fasting Students." The statement said: 1) The hunger strike and petition of Beijing's college students is a majestic patriotic act; 2) We strongly protest against the bureaucratic and indifferent attitude of the authorities towards the patriotic students on hunger strike; and 3) We vehemently demand that the authorities start an earliest dialogue with representatives of the fasting students on the basis of sincerity and equality.

- Yan Jiaqi took the lead in taking part in the demonstration staged by some people from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in support of the fasting students, and co-published a "May 16 Declaration," again trying to exact from the Party and government the acknowledgement that the autonomous students' organization was "legal" and that the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial was "wrong."

May 17

- Members of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed the issue of declaring martial law in parts of Beijing. The majority were for it, but Zhao Ziyang cast a negative vote. On the same day, a few people who had access to top Party and state secrets gave the information away. A person who worked at the side of Zhao Ziyang said to the leaders of the illegal student organization: "The troops are about to suppress you. All others have agreed. Zhao Ziyang was the

only one who was against it. You must get prepared." In the evening, Bao Tong, former secretary of Zhao Ziyang, summoned some people from the Political Structural Reform Research Centre of the Party Central Committee for a meeting. After divulging the secret on declaring the martial law, he made a "farewell speech" in which he warned the attendants not to reveal the schemes worked out at the meeting, saying that anyone who revealed them would be a "traitor," a "Judas."

- Before dawn, Zhao Ziyang made a written speech on behalf of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee. In his speech, he confirmed the patriotic enthusiasm of the masses of students and promised not to "square accounts after the autumn harvest." He hoped the students would take care of themselves, end their hunger strike and recover their health.

- At 10 p.m., Li Tieying, minister of the State Education Commission, went successively to the Peking Union Medical College Hospital, Beijing Hospital, and Tongren Hospital to see students down with the hunger strike and wished them quick recovery.

- Xiong Wei, standing committee member of the "Autonomous Union of University Students," and others asked to see the leading official of the Red Cross Society of China. They claimed to the leading official that the "International Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" stipulated that the International Red Cross should conduct a check-up of those who had fasted for three days or more and had the right to intervene in the hunger strike. The leading official replied that there is only one UNESCO on earth and it has never stipulated that someone may intervene in hunger strikes in a certain country.

At one o'clock in the morning, 80 members of the Municipal Red Cross Society and 16 ambulances and 2 coaches arrived at Tiananmen Square. Several hundred students feeble after three or more days of hunger strike were sent to hospitals.

However, at about four o'clock, the Autonomous Union of University Students unilaterally declared the Municipal Red Cross Society as non grata, and drove away doctors and nurses who had come to rescue the students.

After the Municipal Red Cross Society was shooed away, many angry students questioned leaders of the Autonomous

Union of University Students how they could ensure the safety and lives of the fasting students. Only then did those leaders apologize to the Red Cross Society and invite back the doctors and nurses.

During the seven-day hunger strike, the Red Cross Society mobilized more than 100 ambulances and 2,000 beds in 52 hospitals so that students who suffered from shock or illness because of the hunger strike could get first-aid and timely treatment. The Red Cross Society also provided the fasting students with drinking water, edible salt and sugar day and night, and supplied an adequate amount of medicines for preventing sunstroke, cold and diarrhoea.

- Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to show their support to the fasting students. Among them, besides Beijing's college students and teachers, were cadres of state organs, members of democratic parties, journalists, and people from industrial and commercial circles. College students from Shanghai, Hebei, Shandong, Xinjiang, Henan, Shanxi, and Tianjin also took part in the demonstrations in Beijing. Four democratic parties, four medical university and college presidents, professors of the Chinese University of Science and Technology, and 20 writers issued urgent appeals calling upon chief Party and state leaders promptly to hold dialogues with the students.

- Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others published a "May 17 Declaration." They swore: "Because the autocrat controls the unlimited power, the government has lost its obligation and normal human feelings"; "despite Qing Dynasty's death 76 years ago, there is still an emperor in China though without such a title, a senile and fatuous autocrat." They said: "Yesterday afternoon, General Secretary Zhao Ziyang declared publicly that all decisions in China must be approved by this decrepit autocrat"; "Gerontocratic politics must end and the autocrat must resign." The Declaration claimed: "The students have proclaimed through their action that the current student movement is not a turmoil, but a great, patriotic democratic movement with the aim to bury dictatorship and the autocratic monarchy in China."

May 18

- At 5 a.m., members of the Politburo Standing Committee of

the Party Central Committee Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi and Hu Qili went to the Peking Union Medical College Hospital and Tongren Hospital to see hospitalized fasting students.

- In the morning, Li Peng and other state leaders met with representatives of the fasting students. Li Peng suggested that all fasting students be immediately sent to hospitals by the Red Cross Society. He also stressed: "No matter how much common ground or difference we have, the first thing we should do right now is to save the lives of the fasting students. The government should not shirk its duty on this matter. I have given instructions to all the large hospitals to try every possible way to get beds and necessary medical apparatus ready for receiving the fasting students." Representatives of the students insisted that only when the government has recognized the present student unrest as a great, patriotic democratic movement will they change the hunger strike to a sit-down protest. Li Peng said: "We have all along confirmed the students' patriotic enthusiasm. Your intentions are good, but the situation is developing independent of your good will and imagination and your patriotic enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, social order in Beijing has been disturbed, and this has spread to the whole country." This meeting ended without any outcome.

- On this sixth day of the hunger strike, the fasting students totalled more than 3,000. More than 2,000 persons had passed out and been sent to hospital (some of them more than once). The number of fasting students refusing to drink water had increased to 30, of whom 17 were in front of Xinhua Gate.

- A torrential rain was forecasted to come today. At five o'clock the previous afternoon, the Municipal Red Cross Society received a notice of the municipal government for protecting the fasting students from rain. The Red Cross Society suggested to use buses as shelter. But, Guo Haifeng, leader of the Autonomous Union of University Students, asked for tents so as to occupy Tiananmen Square for a long period of time in the future. The Red Cross Society explained that buses were easy to clean and sterilize, and tents were liable to take in water and breed pathogenic bacteria. After repeated persuasion and explanation, at two o'clock in the morning, the Autonomous Union of University Students finally consented to sheltering the fasting students in buses. While the fasting students moved into

the 78 buses with cheers, the Autonomous Union of University Students tore up the agreement on protecting the buses: many tyres were pricked or flatted, and some engines were destroyed.

Beijing Municipal Environmental Protection and Public Hygiene Bureau began to clear up the garbage and spray high-effect disinfectant at Tiananmen Square so as to prevent the occurrence of contagious diseases.

- Because of the day-after-day demonstrations, 49 bus lines on the city's major communication lines were blocked. The daily life and work of 1.53 million commuters were affected. Some commercial and service enterprises suffered losses, and soy sauce, vinegar and eggs were out of stock.

May 19

- In the small hours of today, Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng and other Party and state leaders went to Tiananmen Square to see the students on hunger strike. Zhao Ziyang got on a bus and shook hands with the fasting students. He said: "We have come too late. You mean good, and you all wish our country well. The problems you raised will be solved eventually. But, things are complicated, and it takes time to resolve these problems. I sincerely hope you'll end your hunger strike at once. Once you stop the hunger strike, the Party and government will continue to hold dialogues with you."

- In the evening, the Party Central Committee and the State Council convened a meeting of cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing. At the meeting, a decision on taking resolute measures to stop the turmoil was announced. Prior to this, in order to uphold the Party's unity, the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Party Central Committee decided that Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng each make a speech at the meeting, but Zhao Ziyang refused. Then, he was asked to preside over the meeting instead of speaking, but again he refused. Finally, he even refused to attend the meeting. By doing so, he openly revealed his attitude of separating himself from the Party before the whole Party and the whole world at a critical moment when the Party and the country were in a life-and-death struggle.

- In the same evening, Qiao Shi, member of the Politburo

Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, presided over a meeting attended by cadres of the Party, government and military institutions under the central authorities and Beijing Municipality. Li Peng spoke at the meeting on behalf of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee. President Yang Shangkun also gave a speech. Li Ximing, Politburo member and Party secretary of Beijing, first introduced the outbreak and development of the student movement in Beijing in recent times and the grave influence of the turmoil on various social aspects of Beijing.

In his speech, Li Peng pointed out that the capital was in a critical situation, the anarchic state was aggravated and law and discipline were being violated. "The situation in Beijing is deteriorating and has already affected many other cities in the country," said Li Peng. "Our country's reform and opening up, our modernization drive, and the future of the People's Republic are seriously threatened.... The very small handful of turmoil abettors want, through the turmoil, to reach their political goal—negating the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, a goal which runs counter to the Constitution and which cannot reach through democratic and legal channels."

Li Peng stressed that the patriotic enthusiasm of the young people must be protected; they must be strictly differentiated from the tiny number of people who incited the turmoil and they would not be penalized for their radical words and actions in the student unrest. He said that the Party and government would continue to have extensive and active dialogues with the broad masses of students and people from other walks of life, including students who had participated in the demonstrations, sit-down protests, class boycotts and the hunger strike—at different levels, through various channels and in various forms so as to fully understand opinions from all quarters.

Li Peng said: "We shall give clear answers to the students' reasonable demands. We shall attentively listen to and accept their sensible criticisms and suggestions, such as to punish official profiteers, eliminate corruption and get rid of bureaucracy, so as to conscientiously improve the work of the Party and government." Li Peng hoped that the fasting students at Tiananmen Square would call off the hunger strike immediately,

leave the square, accept medical treatment and recover their health soon; that the masses of students and people of various circles would stop their demonstrations at once and, out of humanitarianism, cease their "support" for the fasting students. No matter what their intentions were, he declared, any further "support" would push the fasting students on to the road to death.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, Li Peng called upon the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities to unite as one and work together with one heart to contribute their bit at their posts to the checking of the turmoil and the stabilization of the situation.

Yang Shangkun also spoke at the meeting. He said: "I fully endorse the speech given by Comrade Li Peng on behalf of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee. Recently, the normal order in people's work, production and daily lives in Beijing has been disrupted. In actuality, many social aspects have fallen into anarchy. To maintain the capital's public security and restore normal social order, we have no alternative but to call some PLA troops in to assist the armed police and public security personnel in Beijing in their work. They are not aimed at the students. I hope people of various circles will fully understand and support this."

At night, troops began to move in from various directions towards the city proper of Beijing in trucks and armoured cars, only to be stopped at the outskirts by students and residents who had learned of this beforehand.

- Today, leaflets signed by the "Preparatory Committee of the Beijing Autonomous Union of Workers" were found, which threatened: "The Party Central Committee and the State Council must satisfy the two demands of the fasting students unconditionally within 24 hours. Otherwise, we shall stage a general workers' strike in the city at 12 o'clock on May 20."

- At about four in the afternoon, someone holding a piece of paper and identifying himself as a staff member of a certain organization under the Party Central Committee, went to the "Tiananmen Square Headquarters" and revealed the top secret that martial law was about to be declared in parts of Beijing. Thus, at nine o'clock, 45 minutes before the meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party,

government and military institutions, Chai Ling, "commander-in-chief" of the Fasting Contingent, declared change of the hunger strike to a sit-down protest.

- Gao Shan, deputy bureau director of the Political Structural Reform Research Centre under the Party Central Committee, hurried to the Economic Structural Reform Institute to pass on to those who were holding a meeting the so-called instructions from the "above." After that, presided over by Chen Yizi, the institute director, they drafted a "six-point statement on the current situation" in the name of the four units of the Research Institute for Reform of the Economic System, the Research Institute of Development of the Agricultural Research Centre under the State Council, the Research Institute for International Affairs of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation and the Beijing Young Economist Society. The statement, which was broadcasted at Tiananmen Square and distributed widely, demanded "publicizing the inside story of the decision-making of the top leaders and the divergence of opinions among them" and "convening a special session of the National People's Congress" and "a special congress of the Chinese Communist Party." It also urged the students on Tiananmen Square to "end their hunger strike as soon as possible," hinting that the government would "adopt an extreme action (military control)." Soon after that, some people, who identified themselves as employees of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economy, went to Tiananmen Square to deliver a speech in which they said: "With deep grief and extreme anger, we now disclose a piece of absolutely true news—General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has been dismissed from his post." They called on the workers, students and shopkeepers to carry out nationwide strikes and instigated the masses to "take immediate actions to fight a life-and-death struggle." The speech was soon printed in the form of *People's Daily Extra* and was widely distributed.

May 20

- Premier Li Peng signed and issued an order of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on declaring martial law in parts of Beijing. The full text is as follows:

A serious turmoil has taken place in Beijing and social stability,

people's normal life and social order have been disrupted. In order to firmly stop the unrest, maintain social tranquility in Beijing, safeguard the safety of the lives and property of the citizens, protect public property and ensure the normal function of the central departments and the Beijing municipal government, and as empowered by Clause 16 of Article 89 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the State Council has decided to execute martial law in parts of Beijing as from 10:00 on May 20, 1989. The order shall be implemented by the Beijing Municipal People's Government, which is to take concrete measures according to practical needs.

• Mayor Chen Xitong signed orders of the Beijing Municipal People's Government.

Order 1: In accordance with the order of the State Council signed by Premier Li Peng to declare martial law in parts of Beijing, and in order to quickly check the social turmoil and maintain the normal order in the work, production, teaching and study, scientific research and social life in the capital, the Beijing Municipal People's Government hereby orders:

1) As from 10:00 on May 20, 1989, martial law is enforced in the Eastern, Western, Chongwen, Xuanwu, Shijingshan, Haidian, Fengtai and Chaoyang districts;

2) Under the martial law, demonstrations, petition, class boycotts, work stoppage and other activities of amassing people to impede the normal order are banned;

3) People are banned to use any form to create and spread rumours, establish links, make public speeches or distribute leaflets to incite social turmoil;

4) It is prohibited to assault leading organs of the Party, the government and the army, to assault broadcasting, television, communications and other key units, to sabotage important public facilities; or to engage in all disruptive activities such as beating, smashing, looting and setting fire;

5) It is prohibited to harass embassies of all countries and agencies of the United Nations in Beijing;

6) Public security officers, the armed police and PLA soldiers on duty have the right to use every means to forcibly deal with the above prohibited activities should they occur during the enforcement of the martial law.

It is hoped that all residents will observe the above items.

Chen Xitong *Mayor*
May 20, 1989

Order 2: To implement the order of the State Council to enforce martial law in parts of Beijing and to maintain the normal order in the capital, the Beijing Municipal People's Government hereby orders:

1) Foreigners must observe all orders issued by the Beijing Municipal People's Government in accordance with Premier of the State Council Li Peng's order on declaring martial law;

2) During the period of the martial law, foreigners are not allowed to get involved in any activities of Chinese citizens in violating the martial law;

3) The personnel on duty have the right to adopt every means to stop any activities violating the above provisions.

Chen Xitong *Mayor*
May 20, 1989

Order 3: During the period of the martial law, special regulations are made on news coverage:

1) Chinese or foreign journalists are strictly forbidden to utilize press coverage to make demagogic reporting;

2) Journalists from abroad as well as from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan are forbidden to go to government institutions, people's organizations, schools, factories, mines, enterprises and neighbourhoods to conduct interviews, take pictures or make videotapes without approval by the Beijing Municipal People's Government;

3) The personnel on duty have the right to stop any activities violating the above regulations.

Chen Xitong *Mayor*
May 20, 1989

• The *People's Daily* announced: Some people have been found to usurp the name of *People's Daily* to print and distribute the so-called *People's Daily* Extra. We solemnly declare that we have not issued a single extra for about a decade. It is hereby announced for public inspection.

• Tens of thousands of students and residents took to the crossroads and highways at the outskirts of Beijing to stop the martial law enforcement troops and armed police. They used buses as roadblocks to obstruct the advance of military vehicles, and surrounded the troops in throngs of dozens, hundreds or even thousands, seriously interfering with their operations.

Ground transportation was completely paralysed. Subway

was forced to be closed at ten o'clock.

Panic purchasing took place. Some people wrote to the Electric Power Administrative Bureau threatening to mobilize 600 to 700 people to sabotage the power supply.

May 21

- The headquarters of the PLA martial law enforcement troops published a "Letter to Beijing Residents," announcing that the martial law troops had come to Beijing to restore the normal order, not to suppress the students and hoping that students and people from all walks of life would understand this fully and give them energetic support.

- In the afternoon, a person identifying himself as representative of the students on Tiananmen Square asked to see the leading officers of the martial law enforcement troops. Liu Zhijun, director of a regiment's Political Department, and two film projectionists had a talk with him. Liu Zhijun said: "I have been in Beijing for more than one day. I find the situation here is very chaotic. Though the students are well-organized and try to help maintain order, a number of people are creating disturbances. If this situation is not checked immediately, the order in work and in society at large will be seriously disrupted." Talking about the patriotic enthusiasm and good will of the students, Liu Zhijun said: "If the students really love their country, they should immediately stop their demonstrations and class boycotts and leave Tiananmen Square for the sake of our nation and our country. Only when they do so can the situation quiet down." When asked about the position of the troops, Liu Zhijun said: "We are exercising restraint in pursuance of the central authorities' policy; this does not mean we are inactive towards the enforcement of the martial law. I think the earlier the students retreat from Tiananmen Square, the better. There is one thing I can tell you: The soldiers will not fire at the students, but we will never be soft on those die-hard, anti-government saboteurs."

Marshals Nie Rongzhen and Xu Xiangqian gave separate replies to the students of the Chinese University of Science and Technology. They said that the martial law troops came to Beijing not to suppress the students, and they hoped the stu-

dents would not believe rumours and return to their schools and resume class at once.

- The Xinhua News Agency transmitted the *Liberation Army Daily* editorial entitled "Major Measures for Maintaining Stability in the Capital and in the Whole Country."

- Zhang Baifa, permanent vice-mayor of Beijing, gave a speech at Beijing Television Station, appealing to residents for common efforts to maintain public transportation order.

- Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Seventh National People's Congress, who was visiting Canada, told overseas Chinese and Chinese-Canadian in Toronto: "We will firmly protect the patriotic enthusiasm of the young people and maintain the stability of social order in China."

- Today was the second day of the declaration of the martial law. At night, some students and residents who were unaware of the significance of enforcing the martial law put up road-blocks at major crossroads in the outskirts of Beijing to stop the advance of military vehicles. Buses and trolleys in the urban area were held up and the subway ceased operation. Residents complained that they could not read newspapers or drink fresh milk.

- The Research Institute of Social Development of the Stone Company drafted a proposal for an emergency meeting by the NPC Standing Committee. This written proposal was first delivered to Hu Jiwei, member of the NPC Standing Committee, who examined it and added: "If an immediate meeting of the members of the NPC Standing Committee is impossible, we propose an informal emergency meeting of members of the NPC Standing Committee in Beijing." After signing his name, Hu Jiwei agreed to take up this matter and entrusted the Institute to solicit signatures. Thus, the Institute made long-distance calls or sent urgent telegrams to the NPC Standing Committee members outside Beijing for their signatures.

Yan Jiaqi and others planned to establish a union of intellectuals first in Beijing and with "removing Li Peng" as the general goal. They also sent a telegram to leaders of the NPC Standing Committee, demanding the immediate convening of an emergency meeting by the NPC Standing Committee.

- University students from Beijing and other parts of China continued their sit-down protest at Tiananmen Square. At the

same time, 7,000 students from other parts of China left Beijing for their schools.

May 22

- Deng Yingchao published her letter to the capital's students and residents. The letter said: "I'm also very much concerned and worried about Beijing's situation in recent month. I think none of us wants this situation to go on. All of us want stability and unity.... I sincerely hope you'll have faith in our Party, in the People's Government and in the PLA. The PLA troops have been ordered to come to Beijing to maintain social order in the capital and guarantee us a normal environment for work, study and living. I hope the students and residents will give the PLA their vigorous support."

- The Beijing Municipal Government and the headquarters of the martial law troops issued a public announcement calling for the restoration of normal order in the capital. The announcement said: "At present, the production and living order in the capital is in a great confusion. Traffic is held up in many places and public transportation is still at a standstill. Production and work in some units are disrupted. Teaching and studying in schools is still abnormal. Environmental sanitation in the urban area is worrisome. A tiny number of dubious characters seize the opportunity to make troubles and disturb public order. They block and loot military vehicles, beat soldiers, set up illegal checkpoints to search passersby and inspect identification cards. What is more, a motorcycle team barges about the streets and greatly endanger residents' safety and lives. All these have caused great dissatisfaction and anxiety among the masses in the capital, who eagerly desire quick restoration of the social order."

- After the martial law was declared in parts of Beijing, one of the major tactics of the organizers and schemers of the turmoil was to coerce the NPC Standing Committee into convening a meeting before the due time and adopting a decision first to countermand the martial law order of the State Council and then to hold a special NPC meeting to remove the current government. For this purpose Wan Runnan, general manager of the Stone Company, called together some leaders of the Autonomous Union of University Students in the International Hotel

and listed the following six conditions for retreat from Tiananmen Square: withdrawal of the troops, cancellation of the martial law, removal of Li Peng, retirement of Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun, and reinstatement of Zhao Ziyang. They also planned to organize a "grand victory march at midnight." Meanwhile, the few members of the Beijing intellectual circle who took the lead in supporting the students' hunger strike published articles in Hong Kong newspapers, trying to mould public opinions outside the mainland to put pressure on the NPC Standing Committee.

- The Autonomous Union of University Students set up the "Provisional Tiananmen Square Headquarters," which not only organized and directed the sit-down protest at Tiananmen Square, but also instigated the students and residents to obstruct military vehicles and surround the troops at crossroads.

In the meantime, the Union raised the call for "repudiating the charge of turmoil and urgently convening meetings of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," and for persisting in occupation of Tiananmen Square.

- Today was the third day of the martial law enforcement. In the afternoon, several thousand people demonstrated, holding banners of "the capital's intellectual, educational, literary and art, and press circles."

- From 0:30 to 4:00 a.m., a grave incident took place in Xiangtan City, Hunan Province. A small number of ruffians assaulted the municipal government and engaged in beating, smashing, looting and burning. Public security officers and some students having a sit-down at the site worked together to protect the government office compound and maintain order.

- At about ten o'clock in the evening, a martial law enforcement unit halted at Dajing in Fengtai District was ordered to move away. Then, dubious characters began to spread rumours to agitate the crowd. Some other dubious characters, passing themselves off as students and onlookers, made sudden attacks upon the troops and students with the bricks and tiles they had gathered beforehand. With a great show of restraint the soldiers retreated, at the same time trying to protect the students. More than 60 soldiers, 11 students and 13 residents were injured. Ten raiders were detained.

May 23

- The State Education Commission issued an urgent call, asking people from various circles to urge university students to resume class. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China called upon all local branches to dissuade students from coming to Beijing.

- Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, ended his official visit to the United States ahead of schedule for health reason, and started his journey home in the afternoon.

- Since the imposition of the martial law four days ago, the situation in Beijing was getting stable. One hundred forty-eight bus and trolley lines were re-opened for traffic. The subway ended its three-day business suspension. The urban streets were open for traffic, market supply was smooth and residents were calm and collected.

- Tiananmen Square was still occupied by student petitioners. The Red Cross Society of China, which had been rescuing the students at Tiananmen Square ever since the beginning of the hunger strike, issued an urgent appeal: "As Tiananmen Square is in an adverse condition and epidemic diseases are liable to break out at any time, we urgently call upon the students to retreat from the square immediately. And we hope residents, old people and children in particular, won't come to Tiananmen Square."

- At 1:30 in the afternoon, people from the capital's universities and colleges, factories and mines, enterprises, intellectual, literary and art and press circles once more took to Tiananmen Square and the eastern and western sections of Chang'an Avenue for demonstration. Most of their slogans vilified the State Council leaders while the rest demanded withdrawal of the troops, rescinding of the martial law, upholding of the Constitution and safeguarding of the human rights.

- The illegal "Union of Beijing's Intelligentsia" was formally founded, with Bao Zunxin in charge of its general affairs. Meanwhile, a duplicated copy of its inauguration declaration was published in full in Taiwan's daily newspaper *Lien Ho Pao*. The declaration slandered the central authorities' decision and the martial law order of the State Council as "a perverse act," and appealed for an "immediate" meeting by the NPC Standing Committee to "discuss the proposal for removing Li Peng." In

the evening, they called on members of the Union to launch a sit-down protest at Tiananmen Square and distributed the *News Express* they had compiled. They reviled Comrade Li Peng and threatened to "march him to the guillotine of history."

- At about two o'clock in the afternoon, Yu Mingfei, teacher of Guandu Middle School in Liuyang of Hunan Province, Yu Yuedong, art editor of *Liuyang Daily*, and Lu Decheng, worker of Liuyang Motorcade, tarnished with printing ink the portrait of Mao Zedong on Tiananmen gate tower. They were caught on the spot by university students and residents, who were staying nearby to help preserve order, and were handed over to the public security office.

- In Beijing's streets was spread a leaflet entitled "Our Suggestions." It was distributed in the name of the "Autonomous Student Union of Beijing Teachers' University," but was actually drafted by Liu Xiaobo. This leaflet vilified the Chinese Government elected by the National People's Congress as a "bogus government," and demanded "the bogus government resign and Li Peng step down." It slandered the martial law imposed in parts of Beijing as "military control," and instigated "the mobilization of the whole society to thwart the military control." It also incited "workers of state-owned enterprises" to form "an autonomous union which can really stand for their own interests"; and agitated "nongovernmental enterprises" to publicly demand "putting enterprises on a private footing" so as to "ensure the private ownership of the property right." It tried to sow dissensions between the eight democratic parties of China and the Chinese Communist Party, instigating them to break away from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and to openly and clearly demand of the government their independent participation in government and political affairs in a planned way, thus to become democratic parties with truly independent rights.

May 24

- During the 11 days of the students' hunger strike which later changed to sit-in demonstrations at the Tiananmen Square, the government entrusted the Red Cross Society to organize the capital's medical circles to try their best to save the lives of the

students. No one has died up to now. Up to 6 p.m. 32 hospitals in Beijing have treated 9,158 person-time of students altogether, with 8,205 person-time on observation in hospitals. Only 66 students are still under observation in several hospitals.

- Early this morning students from Beijing and other parts of China made a vow at the Tiananmen Square. First, Chai Ling, the General Commander of the newly formed "Tiananmen Square Headquarters," read out an oath for inauguration. Then, Wang Dan, standing committee member of the "Autonomous Union of University Students (AUUS)," made a speech entitled "The Last Struggle Between Brightness and Darkness." Finally, students stood with their hands up and read out the "Declaration of Safeguarding the Tiananmen Square." They planned to occupy the Tiananmen Square by force indefinitely.

- The "Tiananmen Square Headquarters" and "Joint Conference of People from All Walks of Life of the Capital" proclaimed their founding. In this way, the "Union of Capital's Intelligentsia" organized by Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others formed a "Sacred Alliance" with the "Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students," "Autonomous Union of Beijing Residents," "Dare-to-Die Corps of Beijing Workers," "Pickets of Beijing Workers" and "Dare-to-Die Corps of Beijing Residents." They clamoured in their oath to topple the Chinese Government, "fearing neither bloodshed nor sacrifice."

- Altogether 174 public trolley and bus lines were open in the whole city.

May 25

- When meeting with the newly appointed Nigerian, Mexican and Burmese ambassadors to China, Premier Li Peng of the State Council said: "According to clause 16 of article 89 of the Constitution, we enforce martial law in parts of Beijing which is an alarming measure adopted to firmly prevent the turmoil. Martial law enforcement is different from military control. Military control is a measure adopted in some countries by military authorities when the whole country or parts of the country is out of control, the government is unable to perform its administrative functions, hence, military authorities take up the entire or part of the functions of the government. Nothing like this has

happened in China today.”

Li Peng said: “Today is the sixth day since the martial law has been enforced, the martial law enforcement troops are intercepted and have not entered the central area of Beijing. This is not because the troops have no ability to enter the city but because our government is people’s government and the People’s Liberation Army is people’s army. When people have not fully understood the meaning of martial law, the troops have displayed the greatest restraint in order to avoid conflicts. We believe that to maintain the stability and order in Beijing fully conforms to the interests of Beijing residents and the whole country, and it will be eventually understood and supported by the people.”

- The State Council issued an emergency notice, demanding that governments, public security and railway departments at all localities firmly prevent the provincial students from attacking railways and forcibly taking trains to come into Beijing.

- At three o’clock this morning Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, ended his visits to Canada and America, and returned to China from America. After doctors’ examination Wan Li would stay in Shanghai for treatment since he was in bad health.

- Today’s Hong Kong newspaper *Wen Hui Pao* carried news about a proposal signed by 57 NPC Standing Committee members, including Hu Jiwei, for an emergency meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress. It reportedly said: “Important issues of the emergency meeting will include the dismissal of Li Peng from office and problems needed to be handled urgently.”

- Leaders of the “AUUS” held a meeting, made two sets of plans and decided to attack the government in a most radical way. They also sent five propaganda corps to different parts of the country to establish ties for a united action in the whole country.

- This afternoon, large-scale demonstrations appeared along the east and west Chang’an Avenue and around the Tiananmen Square. The streamers carried by the demonstrators showed that they were from scientific, educational, medical, cultural, press units, as well as some factories. Among them were also students from other parts of China. The demonstrations were illegally

organized by "Union of China's Intelligentsia" and "Autonomous Union of Workers (AUW)." Written on their banners were "Welcome Wan Li to call the National People's Congress" and they chanted "Call an emergency meeting of the NPC at once," "Dismiss Li Peng as Premier, withdraw martial law" and other slogans.

May 26

- Chen Yun, Chairman of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, presided over a meeting of its Standing Committee. All comrades present unanimously supported the correct policy and resolute measure adopted by the Central Government in order to prevent the turmoil and to stabilize the situation.

- Entrusted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Peng Zhen, former chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, invited non-Party vice-chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee to hold a forum. He made an important speech entitled *Seek Unity of Thinking in Accordance with the Constitution and Laws*, setting forth relevant regulations stipulated in the Constitution and laws. He said: "Because of the unrest, state affairs such as the welcoming ceremony and other activities in honour of Gorbachev could not be conducted normally, traffic became a problem and people even couldn't go to work. Does the capital still have any order? Is it still possible to say that the interests of the country and society are not harmed? Isn't this a turmoil?" He also quoted relevant articles from the Constitution and pointed out that it was legal for the State Council to enforce martial law in some sections of Beijing. Peng Zhen pointed out: Any organization and any individual must abide by the Constitution and laws. Some people paid lip service to legal systems, they had in fact not only trampled the Constitution and laws themselves but also instigated others to violate the Constitution and laws. Hence, students and people from all walks of life must heighten their vigilance. Non-Party vice-chairmen attending the forum expressed their firm support for the Party and that they would work with the Communist Party to stabilize the situation and solve the problems through democratic and legal procedures.

- Today is the seventh day since the martial law has been

enforced. Many students on the Tiananmen Square moved to the shade of trees in front of the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History because of the scorching weather. In front of the Beijing Railway Station a large number of provincial students lined up, waiting for trains leaving Beijing for home. A responsible person at the station said that they had already prepared some special trains and carriages to take these students back. The martial law troops still waiting for orders outside Beijing began to receive groups sent by governments at all levels to convey greetings and appreciation. Some soldiers and officers had get-togethers with local residents.

- Yan Jiaqi and Bao Zunxin published an article, entitled "Solve China's Present Problems in a Democratic and Legal Way —also serves as a letter to Li Peng" in a Hong Kong's newspaper, clamouring to "rescind martial law" and "remove Li Peng from office."

- More than 300 representatives of the AUUS had a discussion all night long and voted. Chai Ling, the General Commander of the "Tiananmen Square Headquarters," declared at nine o'clock in the morning: In the future, students would hold fast to the Tiananmen Square, unite with people from all walks of life, hit out actively, organize large-scale demonstrations and lay siege to Zhongnanhai in order to put more pressure on the government.

- The illegal organization "Beijing Workers Autonomous Union Preparatory Committee" held a press conference attended by both foreign and Chinese journalists in the east of the Tiananmen Square, declaring its founding.

May 27

- The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) held a chairmen meeting, expressing its unanimous support for the decision made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council. Li Xiannian, Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, attended the meeting and made an important speech, pointing out that a very small handful of people recently "plot the turmoil behind the scenes, fabricate rumours, stir up and instigate the turmoil, arbitrarily enlarge the state of affairs in an attempt to reach their

political aims of negating the leadership of the Communist Party and socialist system by creating turmoils. Their activities are fully planned, organized and premeditated. If their conspiracy comes true, our country and nation will fall into severe disasters."

- Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, made a written statement. He said: "I consistently hold that the masses of young students sincerely hope to accelerate democracy and to punish corruption, and their patriotic enthusiasm is difficult of attainment, which has been given full affirmation by the Party and the government." "However, the state of affairs has developed into the opposite of the masses of students' good wish. All signs show that a very, very small number of people are going in for political conspiracy, taking advantage of the student unrest to deliberately stir up the turmoil, which have severely disturbed the normal order of the society, production, work, life, teaching, and scientific research in Beijing and many other parts of China. They aim at toppling the leadership of the Communist Party and subverting the socialist system. This is an act that seriously violates the Constitution. Hence, the masses of citizens including young students should keep alert. I hold that we must protect the patriotic enthusiasm of young students and masses, and will not look into those who talked and acted radically in the student unrest. We must expose a handful of people who have agitated and created the turmoil."

- On the Tiananmen Square, the sit-in students were sustaining under the scorching sun. They had different opinions as to whether to continue with the sit-in or to withdraw and return to school.

- On behalf of the AUUS, the Union of University Students from Other Parts of China, the AUW, the Joint Conference of People from All Walks of Life of the Capital," and the Autonomous Union of Beijing Residents Wang Dan made a ten-point announcement: Rescind martial law, withdraw troops; negate *People's Daily's* April 26 editorial; negate Li Peng's May 19 speech; hold an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee; stage a large-scale demonstration and assembly on May 30, etc.

May 28

- At seven o'clock this evening, the "Tiananmen Square Headquarters" suddenly issued a ten-point communique by the Beijing Autonomous Union of University Students, the Union of University Students from Other Parts of China, Union of Capital's Intelligentsia and other organizations. It pointed out that if an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee was not to be held soon, the large-scale petition activities at the Tiananmen Square would not stop until the beginning of the NPC's 8th meeting on June 20.

- The "Hong Kong Supporting Group" arrived in Beijing, claiming that they had brought with them 650,000 US dollars and two million Hong Kong dollars and large quantities of materials. There were another 30 people who sent some tents to the Tiananmen Square.

May 29

- Seven middle-aged intellectuals wrote a letter to *Beijing Daily*, expressing their anxieties about the situation in Beijing: "The overall situation which is overwhelming now is to proceed in all cases from the highest interests of our Party, country and the people of the whole country, calm down and solve problems through democratic and legal procedures. The urgent situation which needs to be dealt with is: The disorder which already appeared in Beijing is spreading all over China. It has severely disturbed the social production and order, causing concerns and worries among all kind-hearted people." "We must carefully notice: To construct a strong and prosperous China, one hundred years can not be regarded as too long, however, to undermine a promising China, one day is enough!"

- Today is the tenth day since the martial law has been enforced. The life of Beijing residents was normal and quiet, Chang'an Avenue did not see any demonstration. Street cleaners had removed leaflets from telegraph poles and street corner walls, but new leaflets appeared, and onlookers were seen from time to time.

- The AUUS held a meeting in the headquarters and decided to 1) go on with the sit-ins on the square; 2) continue with the general boycott of classes; 3) call on students to leave campuses

to do propaganda outside Beijing.

- Up to the previous day, the number of students from other parts of China coming into and leaving Beijing had reached 370,000. In the past few days more than 20,000 students left Beijing everyday, and the number of students coming into Beijing decreased sharply, less than 200 everyday.

- In order to attract students and Beijing residents to continue their occupation of the Tiananmen Square, the AUUS organized over 20 students and teachers from the Department of Sculpture at the Central Academy of Fine Arts to make a "Goddess Statue." The statue was formerly named the "Statue of Liberty" but was later renamed the "Statue of Democracy," showing that they took American-style freedom and democracy as their spiritual pillar. At dusk they transported it to the north of the Tiananmen Square, erected an iron frame and set up this "Goddess Statue" not very far from Chairman Mao Zedong's portrait. The statue attracted hundreds of thousands of onlookers.

May 30

- The so-called "Flying Tiger Team" motorcycle group was smashed in Beijing. This group first appeared in the streets of Beijing on May 15, numbering from several dozens of motorcycles to as many as three or four hundred, dashing around madly. They spread rumours all around, stirred up trouble among the people, attacked factories and offices, intercepted military vehicles, and besieged the Public Security Bureau of Daxing County. They terrified Beijing residents and made them suffer. Public security organs took the 11 leading troublemakers into custody for investigation in accordance with the law.

- The Beijing Tiananmen Square Administration made a statement: The Tiananmen Square is an important area where political assemblies, national celebrations and state ceremonies are held. The square, solemn and dignified, belongs to the people of the whole country. The erection of the "Goddess Statue" is not only a rash act but also violates the decree issued by the Beijing Municipal Government on November 1, 1981. The statement also pointed out that the north of the Monument to the People's Heroes is a place for the giant portrait of the revolutionary pioneer Dr. Sun Yat-sen on important annual festivals of our

country. But now this place is taken by a so-called "Goddess Statue." This is an insult to the dignity of our country and the image of our nation.

- Gao Dengbang, Gu Ming, Wang Houde and Song Rufen—members of the NPC Standing Committee—made a statement today: Hong Kong's *Wen Hui Pao* carried news on May 25, saying that some NPC Standing Committee members had signed their names on an appeal for an emergency meeting of the NPC Standing Committee. The *Macao Daily News* carried the same news on May 26. The names of Gao Dengbang, Wang Houde, Gu Ming, and Song Rufen appeared on both of the two newspapers. We never saw this signed letter (Gu Ming was abroad at that time) and we never signed our names on it. It is a grave infringement upon our personal rights to usurp our names. It needs to be pointed out in particular that at this critical moment they fabricate rumours and confuse the public, which can only make people suspect if they have any ulterior motives.

- Leaflets entitled *If ... a Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire—Prediction and Analysis on the Possibilities of Current China's Situation* appeared on the campuses of Qinghua University and Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics. They called on people from all walks of life to get organized and establish "armed forces which shall be possibly called people's army to struggle against the decadent forces of the Communist Party," instigating flagrantly a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

May 31

- Wan Li, Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, came back to Beijing from Shanghai.

- Since May 17, a small number of university students had staged sit-ins in front of Xinhuamen of Zhongnanhai—the seat of the State Council. A spokesman of the General Office of the State Council urged the students to end their sit-ins as soon as possible and return to school. The spokesman pointed out that Xinhuamen is an entrance for many important diplomatic activities and state affairs. The sit-ins of some students before Xinhuamen block the traffic, disturb normal orders, and hinder the official affairs of our Party and country. By so doing they not only show no consideration for the general interests but

violate the law. This kind of action must be stopped.

- The State Education Commission held an office meeting, calling upon university students to resume class as soon as possible and announcing that the time for the university entrance examination this year would not change.

- Tens of thousands of farmers, staff members and workers, teachers and cadres held a meeting and paraded in Shunyi, Daxing and Huairou counties on the outskirts of Beijing, protesting against the turmoil created by a handful of people. Today's parade was approved by public security departments.

- A spokesman of the National Urban Sculpture Planning Group said: Tiananmen Square is a very solemn place. Therefore, sculptures or any buildings to be set up on the square must be first submitted to departments concerned for careful planning and deliberation, and then approved by the relevant departments in the capital. They must not be built or installed at random. Our group was not informed and we knew nothing about the "Statue of Democracy" before and after its erection.

- Responsible persons from 40 enterprises in the capital demanded: Ban the illegal organization of AUW which usurped the name of the workers.

- The Beijing public security units took several leaders of the AUW into custody. Ruffians took advantage of this opportunity to instigate some people to surround and assault the Beijing Public Security Bureau, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, the Beijing Municipal Government and the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China.

- A newly-pasted announcement at Qinghua University read: "Resolutions of the AUUS: General boycott of classes; leave the school; and do propaganda among the whole nation."

- Someone from Beijing University proposed an "Empty School Drive." So nearly all the students left for home where they did propaganda.

June 1

- A spokesman of the Beijing Municipal Government made a statement concerning foreign journalists' news coverage during martial law enforcement, pointing out that no news coverage was allowed on activities at Tiananmen Square, around the

Great Hall of the People, in front of Xinhuaamen and other public places designated by the Beijing Municipal Government.

- A BBC correspondent James Miles and a Japanese reporter Noriyuki Oshima from Yomiuri Shinbun were warned by the Beijing public security organs since their activities during the martial law enforcement had infringed the decrees of the Beijing Municipal Government. They both accepted the warning, made apologies and guaranteed to observe laws and decrees of our country in the future.

- The Beijing Federation of Trade Unions made an announcement, demanding strongly a ban on the "Beijing Autonomous Union of Workers."

- *People's Daily* published a signed article entitled "The Sacred Tiananmen Square Brooks No Blasphemy", opposing the erection of the goddess statue on the Tiananmen Square. The article held that it "shows that some people are seriously indulged in anarchism." They "hope that relevant departments will go by public opinion and dismantle the statue by persuasion or even by using legal means."

- The AUUT, the Union of University Students from Other Parts of China and the "Tiananmen Square Headquarters" made an announcement, putting forward four preconditions for holding a dialogue with the government to solve the problems: 1) Rescind martial law; 2) withdraw troops; 3) guarantee no retaliation in whatever forms against anybody who took part in the democratic movement; 4) cancel news blockade.

June 2

- Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, rallied chairmen of 17 national industrial trade unions including railway, posts and telecommunications to discuss problems such as the role of the trade unions in preventing the turmoil and stabilizing the general situation. He pointed out that the urgent task facing us currently was to maintain the stability of the society, which concerned the overall situation. Every staff member and worker should be concerned about the overall situation and cadres of trade unions should go deep into the masses to do ideological work.

- The Camera Group for China's 40th National Day Celebra-

tion Programmes under the China Central Television borrowed a Mitsubishi jeep from the 5th Contingent of the Beijing Armed Police Corps. On its returning trip after work the jeep ran too fast and slipped on the wet road surface, killing three people and injuring one at 10:55 p.m. None of them was student. Chen Fuyu, the driver, was detained by the Western District Public Security Sub-bureau. Those with ulterior motives made use of this traffic accident and spread rumours: "The military vehicle that clears the way for the martial law enforcement troops has killed three students!" They incited residents to go and block military vehicles. Some people threatened to seize the bodies and parade round the city with coffins.

Having failed to instigate university students to continue the hunger strike and to organize 1,000 to 5,000 public figures to go on a hunger strike, Liu Xiaobo, a lecturer of Beijing Teachers' University, got together two staff members of Stone Company and song composer Hou Dejian to perform a 48-72 hour hunger strike. They said: "As long as the flags on the square are still up, we can continue our fight and spread it to the whole country until the government collapses." Their hunger strike made streams of people appear again on Tiananmen Square, which had been quiet for several days. It was alleged that 200,000 people poured into the square at the peak hour.

On the same day, at an interview given to a reporter with Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News*, Liu Xiaobo said: "We must organize an armed force among the people to materialize Zhao Ziyang's comeback."

- The Autonomous Union of University Students held an exhibition of so-called trophies in front of the monument at Tiananmen Square to display various military equipment they had illegally wrested.

- The Autonomous Union of University Students and the Autonomous Union of Workers held a joint meeting at which they planned to launch a nationwide campaign of beating, smashing, grabbing and burning and prepared to form assassination teams. From then on, they became the direct instigators and organizers of the rebellion. The AUUS' radio station at Tiananmen Square repeatedly broadcast ways of making and using incendiary bottles. They organized sabotages with part of the money given to them by organizations in the United States,

Britain and Hong Kong. Anyone who took part in establishing obstacles to stop traffic and army vehicles would be given 30 yuan a day, anyone who burned a vehicle would be offered 3,000 yuan, and more money would be awarded for capturing or killing a soldier.

June 3

- The spokesman of the Office of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress talked about the possibility for the Eighth Session of the Standing Committee to convene on June 20 as scheduled: University students of Beijing and from outside Beijing are taking part in a sit-in petition day and night on Tiananmen Square in front of the east gate of the Great Hall of the People. The square is in disorder and is very noisy. Public order and public security cannot be guaranteed. It will be very difficult for the Standing Committee to convene and to implement its anticipated tasks as scheduled.

- In consideration of a few people committing lawless acts of blocking and smashing military vehicles, grabbing weapons and beating soldiers, and other illegal activities, PLA martial law enforcement troops urgently announced: Anyone must not in any excuses illegally block military vehicles and besiege PLA soldiers and interfere with martial law enforcement troops from carrying out duties. Anyone who does not listen to the advice and defies the law will be responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

- On the way to the urban area under orders, the martial law enforcement troops were obstructed by people agitated by persons from the Autonomous Union of University Students, the Autonomous Union of Workers and other illegal organizations. They set up roadblocks, beat soldiers and loot military materials. Furthermore, they planned to commit on a large scale atrocities of beating, smashing, looting and burning in the form of a mass rebellion in order to overthrow the government and seize state power. At the crucial moment, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Council and the Central Military Commission had to make the decision to order the martial law enforcement troops in the suburbs to force their way into the urban area and quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

After the rebellion broke out and before the troops entered the urban area, in order to avoid hurting the masses, the Beijing Municipal Government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops issued an emergency announcement at 6:00 p.m., which said: "All citizens must heighten their vigilance and keep off the streets and not go to Tiananmen Square as of the issuing of this notice. Workers and staff should remain at their posts, and other citizens must stay at home to ensure their safety." The announcement was broadcast over and over again on TV and radio.

- In the small hours on June 3, while the martial law troops were heading for their positions according to schedule, agitators urged crowds to halt military and other motor vehicles, set up roadblocks, beat soldiers and loot trucks of materials at Jianguomen, Nanheyuan, Xidan, Muxidi and other road crossings. Some 12 military vehicles were halted by crowds near Caogezhuang. Soldiers marching past the Yanjing Hotel were stopped and searched by rioters, and military vehicles parked in front of the Beijing Telegraph Building had their tires slashed and were surrounded with road dividers.

About dawn, military vehicles at the Yongdingmen Bridge were overturned, others at Muxidi had their tires punctured and some 400 soldiers in Chaoyangmen were stoned. In the Liubukou and Hengertiao areas, military vehicles and soldiers were surrounded by unruly crowds.

Around 7:00 a.m., some rioters swarmed over military vehicles which had been halted at Liubukou, and snatched machine-guns and ammunition. From Jianguomen to Dongdan and in the Tianqiao area, martial law troops were surrounded and beaten. On the Jianguomen overpass some soldiers were stripped of their clothes and others severely beaten.

Later in the morning, troops in the Hufangqiao area were beaten by rioters and some were blinded. The mob prevented some injured soldiers from reaching hospitals by deflating ambulance tires and the victims were dragged from the vehicles. From Hufang Road to Taoranting Park, 21 military vehicles were surrounded and halted. Policemen escorting the soldiers were beaten by the rioters.

From noon onward, many of the soldiers trapped by mobs and barricades at the southern end of the Fuyou Street, the

northern end of the Zhengyilu, Xuanwumen, Hufangqiao and Muxidi crossroads were injured. Some had their helmets, hats, raincoats, water bottles and shoulder bags taken away. At Liubukou policemen tried several times to recover a military truck loaded with arms and ammunition from an enraged mob but failed. They were then forced to use tear gas to disperse the rioters and recapture the dangerous cargo.

About the same time, mobs began to surround and assault buildings housing state organizations and establishments of vital importance, including the Great Hall of the People (the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress), the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, as well as the west and south gates of Zhongnanhai, the compound of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. Dozens of policemen and guards there were injured.

At about 5:00 p.m., the ringleaders of the illegal Autonomous Union of University Students and Autonomous Union of Workers distributed kitchen knives, daggers, iron bars, chains and sharpened bamboo sticks on the square, inciting the mob to kill soldiers and members of the security forces. In a broadcast over loudspeakers in the square, the Autonomous Union of Workers urged the people "to take up arms and overthrow the government."

A group of rioters organized about 1,000 people to push down the wall of a construction site near Xidan and stole tools, reinforcing bars and bricks, ready for street fighting.

- At dusk, Yan Jiaqi participated in and directed the obstruction of military vehicles entering the city. At about 11:00 p.m., he came to Tiananmen Square and took part in the opening ceremony of so-called "University of Democracy" and became the honorary president. He gave a 20-minute speech asserting that Li Peng must "voluntarily resign from his position, otherwise he would be brought to a trial!" He also said that they would cast their "democracy" with their lives and blood.

June 4

- The *Liberation Army Daily* carried an editorial entitled "Firmly Support the Decision of the Central Committee, Reso-

lutely Suppress the Counter-revolutionary Rebellion," which pointed out: "From the small hours on June 3, a counter-revolutionary rebellion took place in the capital. A group of rioters, who desire to see the world plunged into chaos, wantonly fabricated rumours and agitated people to set up road-blocks, to surround, beat and kidnap soldiers, to kill the officers and soldiers, to smash and burn military vehicles, to snatch weapons and ammunition, to assault Zhongnanhai and the Great Hall of the People, to loot stores and to burn buildings. The horrifying rebellion which broke out in the capital is the first since the founding of the republic and is the vicious development of the turmoil created conspiratorially by a few people and exposes their criminal attempt to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the socialist system."

- The martial law enforcement troops reached Tiananmen Square at 1:30 a.m.. After several hours of propaganda and mobilization, by 5:30 the clearing operation of the square had been completed. The students who had occupied the square by force for a long time left. No one was killed.

After the martial law enforcement troops reached Tiananmen Square at 1:30 a.m., the Beijing Municipal Government and the martial law headquarters issued an emergency notice, which stated: "A serious counter-revolutionary rebellion occurred in the capital this evening" and "all citizens and students in Tiananmen Square should leave immediately to ensure that martial law troops will be able to implement their tasks." The notice was broadcast repeatedly for three hours through loudspeakers. The sit-in students gathered around the Monument to the People's Heroes in the southern part of the square. At around 3:00 a.m., they sent representatives to the troops to express their desire to withdraw from the square voluntarily and the troops consented. At 4:30 a.m., the martial law headquarters broadcast the following notice: "It is time to clear the square and the martial law headquarters accepts the request of the students to be allowed to withdraw." At the same time, another notice on quickly restoring normal order to the square was broadcast by the municipal government and the headquarters. After hearing this, the several thousand students organized hand-in-hand pickets and started to leave the square in an orderly manner, carrying

their own banners and streamers at around 5:00 a.m.. The troops vacated a wide corridor in the southeastern part of the square to ensure the smooth and safe departure of the students. At the same time, a few students who refused to leave were forced to leave by martial law troops. By 5:30 a.m., the clearing operation of the square had been completed. During the whole operation no one, including the students who refused but were forced to leave, died.

- Just after dawn, more military vehicles were burned. Several hundred military vehicles at dozens of road crossings at Tiantan Dongce Road, northern gate of the Temple of Heaven, western exit of the subway in Qianmen, Qianmen Donglu, Fuyou Street, Liubukou, Xidan, Fuxingmen, Nanlishilu, Muxidi, Lianhuachi, Chegongzhuang, Donghuamen and Dongzhimen, and at Dabeyao, Hujialou and Beidougezhuang in Chaoyang District, and at Jiugongxiang in Daxing County were set to fire by rioters with gasoline and incendiary bottles or home-made flame-throwers, the flames lighting up the night sky. Some soldiers in the vehicles were beaten to death. In some places, several dozens of military vehicles were burned at the same time. At the Shuangjing crossroad, more than 70 armoured personnel carriers were surrounded, and machine-guns were ripped from 20 of them. From Jingyuan crossroad to Laoshan crematorium, more than 30 military vehicles were burned. Some rioters with iron bars and gasoline drums, waited on the crossroads to burn passing motor vehicles. And many military vehicles carrying food, bedding and clothing were hijacked. Several rioters drove a snatched armoured personnel carrier along the Fuxingmen overpass area firing its guns. The illegal Autonomous Union of Workers claimed in their own broadcast that they had taken away a military transceiver and a cipher code book.

The mobs also assaulted civilian installations and public buildings. Shop windows including those of the Yanshan Department Store in Xicheng District were broken. Pine trees in front of Tiananmen rostrum and the western part of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall were burned. Some public buses, fire engines, ambulances and taxis were also wrecked and burned. Some people even drove a public bus loaded with gasoline drums towards the Tiananmen rostrum and attempted to set fire to it. They were stopped by martial law troops on the southern

side of Golden Water Bridges.

About dawn, some rioters threw bottles, bricks and bicycles at soldiers at Dongdan crossroad. Blood streamed down from many soldiers' faces. At Fuxingmen, a military vehicle was surrounded and 12 soldiers were dragged off the vehicle. They were searched and severely beaten. Many of them were badly injured. In Liubukou, four soldiers were surrounded and beaten up, and some were beaten to death. In the Guangqumen area, three soldiers were severely beaten. One was rescued by some bystanders and the other two have not been found yet. In Xixingsheng lane of the Xicheng District, more than 20 armed policemen were beaten up by rioters; some were badly injured, and the others' whereabouts are unknown. In Huguosi, a military vehicle was halted, and soldiers on it were beaten up and detained as hostages. Submachine-guns were snatched. A truck full of bricks drove from Dongjiaominxiang to Tiananmen Square, and people on the truck shouted, "If you are really a Chinese, get onto the truck and attack the soldiers."

After dawn, the atrocities of injuring and killing soldiers became much more severe. A police ambulance carrying eight injured soldiers to a hospital was halted by rioters. They beat a soldier to death and shouted that they would do the same to the other seven. In front of a bicycle shop in Qianmen Street, three soldiers were severely beaten by rioters, who threatened anyone who tried to rescue them. On Chang'an Avenue a military vehicle had an ignition failure. It was immediately attacked by about 100-200 rioters. The driver was killed inside the cab. About 30 metres to the east of Xidan crossroad, another soldier was beaten to death. The mob poured gasoline on his body and set fire to it. At Fuchengmen, a soldier's body was hung over the overpass after he had been savagely killed. At Chongwenmen, a soldier was thrown down from the overpass and burned alive. The mob shouted furiously, "This is an ever-lasting lamp." Near the Capital Cinema on West Chang'an Avenue, an officer was beaten to death, disemboweled and his eyes plucked out. His body was then strung up on a burning bus.

In the several days of the rebellion, more than 1,280 military vehicles, police cars and public buses were wrecked, burned or otherwise damaged. Of the vehicles, over 1,000 were military vehicles, more than 60 were armoured personnel carriers and

about 30 were police cars. More than 120 public buses were destroyed as well as more than 70 other kinds of motor vehicles. During the same period, arms and ammunition were stolen. More than 6,000 martial law soldiers, armed police and public security officers were injured, and the death toll reached several dozen.

The martial law troops, having suffered heavy casualties and been driven beyond forbearance, were forced to fire into the air to open the way forward after repeated warnings. During the counterattack, some rioters were killed. Because there were numerous bystanders, some were knocked down by vehicles, some were trampled on and some were hit by stray bullets. Some were wounded or killed by ruffians who had seized guns. During the rebellion, more than 3,000 civilians were wounded and over 200, including 36 college students and 15 persons from other places, died.

The 36 dead students are from 20 universities and colleges in Beijing. The Chinese People's University lost 6; Qinghua University and the Beijing University of Science and Technology lost 3 each; Beijing University, Beijing Teachers' University and other seven universities and colleges lost 2 each; and other 10 universities and colleges lost 1 each.

No one among the 36 students died in Tiananmen Square. In disregard of the emergency notice of the Municipal Government and the headquarters of the martial law troops and dissuasions of their teachers and parents, they had gone to Muxidi, Xidan, Nanchizi, Zhushikou and other places, where riots took place, and been killed there.

Some of them had taken part in the rebellious activities. From pockets of some of them were found identification cards of the "Dare-to-Die Corps" of the Autonomous Union of University Students. Some of them were shot and died when they watched the obstruction of military vehicles, and some were killed accidentally when they bypassed the places.

After verification and checking, the bodies of the 36 college students were cremated. Their parents took part in arranging their funerals.

June 5

- The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council issued a "Letter to All Party Members and All People", pointing out, "For more than a month, a tiny handful of people launched a premeditated turmoil, which developed into a horrifying counter-revolutionary rebellion from the early morning on June 3."

"Their aim was to negate the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system and to subvert the People's Republic of China. Their slogan was 'Take up arms, overthrow the government!' and they openly announced their intention of 'killing the 47 million Party members.' The plotters and organizers of the counter-revolutionary rebellion are mainly a handful of people who have for a long time obstinately persisted in bourgeois liberalization, engaged in political scheming, collaborated with hostile forces overseas and provided illegal organizations with top secrets of the Party and state. Those who committed the atrocities of beating, smashing, looting and burning are mainly unreformed elements released after serving a prison sentence, a horde of political rascals, remnants of the 'gang of four' and other dregs of society. In brief, they are reactionary elements who harbour a deep hatred for the Communist Party and the socialist system."

"Putting down the rebellion without hesitation is totally a righteous action, which is in keeping with the desire and basic interest of the people in Beijing and all over the country." "All Party members and people should heighten vigilance, unite together and fight against them to safeguard the fruits of revolution, construction and reform."

- Chen Xitong, Mayor of Beijing, delivered a speech over the radio, announcing that a handful of rioters staged a serious counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, the capital, from the early morning on June 3.

- A handful of ruffians in Chengdu city, Sichuan Province, recklessly committed assault, rampage, robbery and arson. They burned the Chengdu People's Market, which is the biggest department store in Sichuan Province, causing a loss of more than 100 million yuan.

June 6

- The State Council spokesman Yuan Mu held a press conference in Zhongnanhai in the afternoon to reveal the truth of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing. Zhang Gong, director of the Political Department of an army unit of the martial law enforcement troops, and Yuan Liben, secretary-general of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, also attended.

- In the early morning, a unit of the martial law enforcement troops arrested at one swoop 28 counter-revolutionary ruffians who tried to burn public buses, and handed them over to public security organs.

- Around 6:30 p.m., a band of ruffians hiding in an unfinished building fired at the officers and soldiers of PLA unit removing roadblocks and burnt tanks and armoured cars near the Military Museum on Fuxing Road in Beijing. The martial law enforcement troops returned fire at once and the ruffians fled in panic. The local residents expressed support and conveyed greetings to the martial law enforcement troops for their just action.

- At 8:45 p.m., train No. 161 was obstructed by a group of ruffians at the cross of Guangxin Road in Shanghai. Although the emergency brake was applied, the train, carried forward by a tremendous inertia, killed six persons and wounded another six. The ruffians set fire to the train and burned nine carriages and thus caused a holdup of rail traffic from Shanghai to Ningbo and from Shanghai to Hangzhou. Eleven of the offenders have been arrested.

June 7

- At about 10:00 a.m., when a unit of the martial law troops was marching from east to west near Jianguomen overpass, they were fired upon by snipers from the Diplomats' Apartments outside Jianguomen and a building on the southern side of the road. One of the PLA men was killed and three were wounded. The troops were forced to return fire. They surrounded the Diplomats' Apartments and other buildings and then withdrew immediately.

- The Voice of America and the United Press International reported that Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian had gone to the American Embassy in China, seeking "refuge" on June 5.

They "requested" protection, but had not applied for "political asylum."

- A riot broke out on the Wuhan Yangtze River Bridge in the morning. Rioters overturned and burned vehicles, obstructed trains and wounded armed police on duty. Twelve principal culprits were arrested by public security organs.

- The State Council issued a public notice, which stated that disruptive activities on the railways must be resolutely stopped in order to ensure safety in transportation.

- The 10th public notice was issued by the Beijing Municipal Government and the martial law headquarters. It announced that the Autonomous Union of University Students (AUUS) and Autonomous Union of Workers (AUW) are two illegal organizations without registration in accordance with law, and that they should disband immediately. Members of the two illegal organizations must stop all illegal activities immediately. Heads of AUUS and AUW are important elements that instigated and organized the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing. From this date, the two kinds of persons mentioned above must give themselves up to the local public security organs at once, so as to be handled leniently. Those who refuse to surrender themselves to the police should be arrested and brought to justice according to the law, and be punished severely.

June 8

- Li Peng and Wang Zhen visited the officers and soldiers of the martial law troops, highly praised them for firmly and successfully carrying out orders, and encouraged them to make persistent efforts to push on in the flush of victory.

- Officers and soldiers of the PLA, together with Beijing citizens, cleared away roadblocks and rubbish on the Chang'an Avenue. Tiananmen Square had basically been cleared up and the traffic would resume soon.

The martial law troops dispatched trucks to transport grain upon residents in Beijing.

- The State Education Commission issued a notice, calling upon the staff of all universities and colleges and educational administrative departments to stabilize the situation and restore normal order in all schools.

- The public security organs and armed police forces of Chengdu city, Sichuan Province, took decisive measures against the criminal activities of assault, rampage, robbery and arson occurring in the city. Social order in Chengdu had in the main returned to normal.

- Zhu Qizhen, vice-minister of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, met with American ambassador to China, lodging a strong protest against the "protection" offered to Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian by the American Embassy in China. He also said that China would keep a close watch on the development of things.

- Hong Kong resident Li Zhuoren admitted having established contact with the illegal organizations in Beijing and provided them with funds. Li left Beijing and returned to Hong Kong after admonition by the public security organ.

June 9

- Chairman of the Central Military Commission Deng Xiaoping received commanders above the corps level of the martial law enforcement troops at Huarentang Hall in Zhongnanhai, Beijing, in the afternoon. At the meeting, Deng expressed his heartfelt condolence to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in putting down the counter-revolutionary rebellion, and his sincere sympathy and solicitude to the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army and armed police and public security personnel who were wounded, and extended his sincere regards to all the comrades who participated in enforcing the martial law.

Deng Xiaoping made an important speech. He said: "The storm was bound to happen and was independent of man's will. A handful of people first staged turmoil, which later developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion. Their aim was to overthrow the Communist Party, topple the socialist system, and establish a bourgeois republic. During the course of quelling the rebellion, all the army, armed police and public security personnel showed a high political consciousness and withstood tests.... The army is truly the people's army and the Great Wall of iron and steel of the state. This test has proved that they are qualified. This shows that this army of ours is forever the defender of the country, forever the defender of socialism, forever the defender

of the public interest."

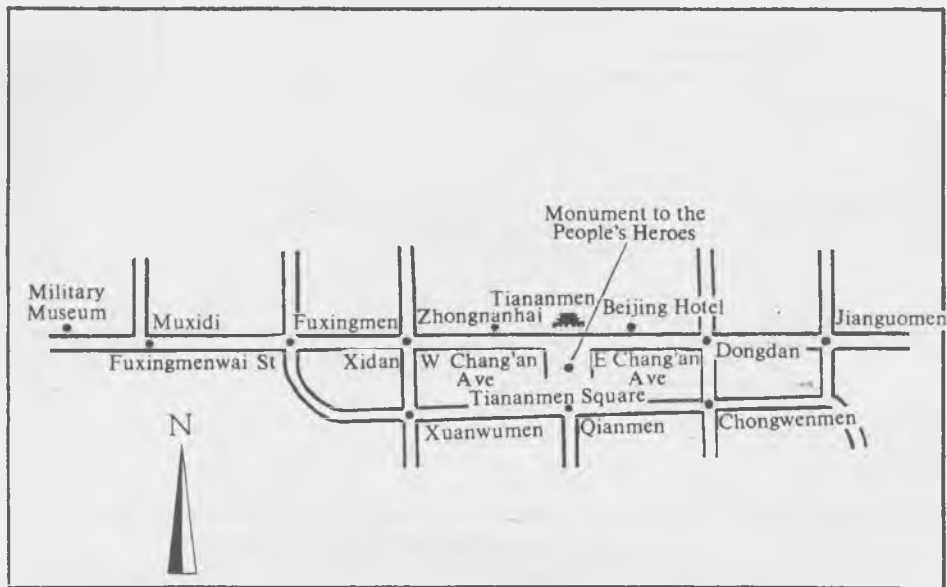
Deng said, "The outbreak of the rebellion is worth thinking about. It prompts us to calmly think about the past and consider the future. It will enable us to go ahead at a more steady, better, even a faster pace. Also it will enable us to more speedily correct our mistakes and better develop our strong points. The line, goals and policies laid down by the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee are correct. The general conclusion of the 13th Party Congress of one focus [referring to making economic development the nation's central task] and two basic points [referring to upholding the Four Cardinal Principles and persisting in the policy of reform and opening up] is also correct and should be resolutely carried forward.... In a word, we should sum up the experiences of the present and look forward to the future."

Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Yao Yilin, Wan Li, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Wang Zhen, Bo Yibo and other Central Military Commission leaders attended the meeting. Chen Yun, who was not present, paid sincere tribute to the martial law enforcement troops and expressed heartfelt condolence to the martyrs who died in quelling the rebellion.

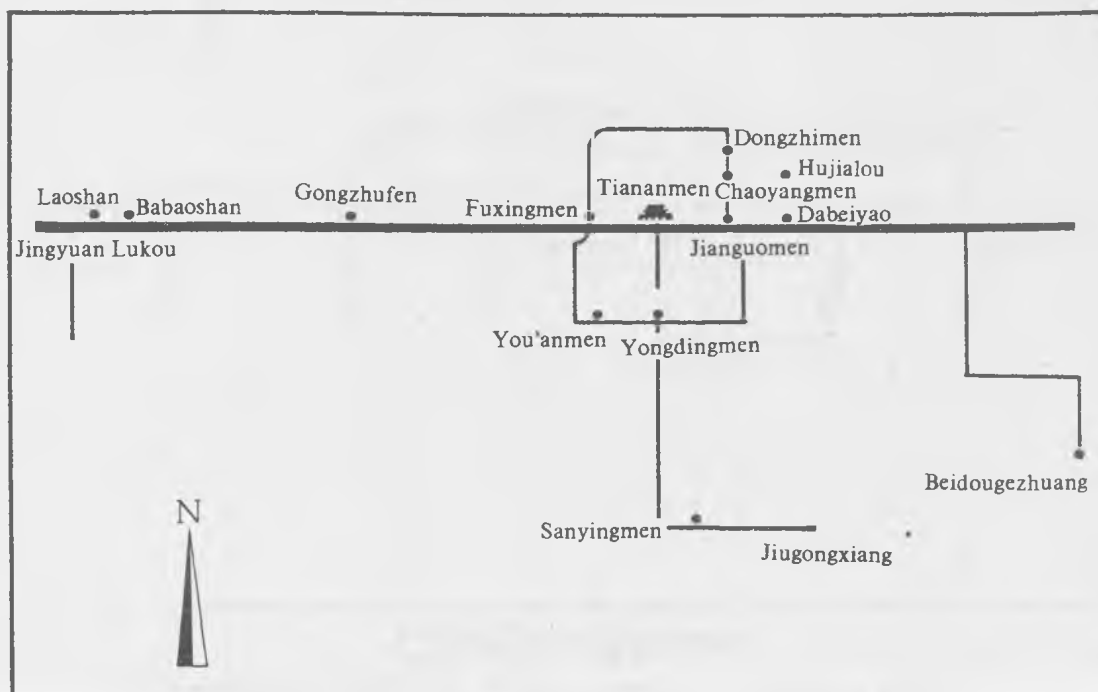
- Supplies of grain, meat and vegetables in Beijing had returned to normal and 145 bus and trolley-bus lines had resumed operations.

- One hundred thousand Shanghai worker pickets went to streets to clear away roadblocks. Traffic in the city returned to normal for the first time since June 4.

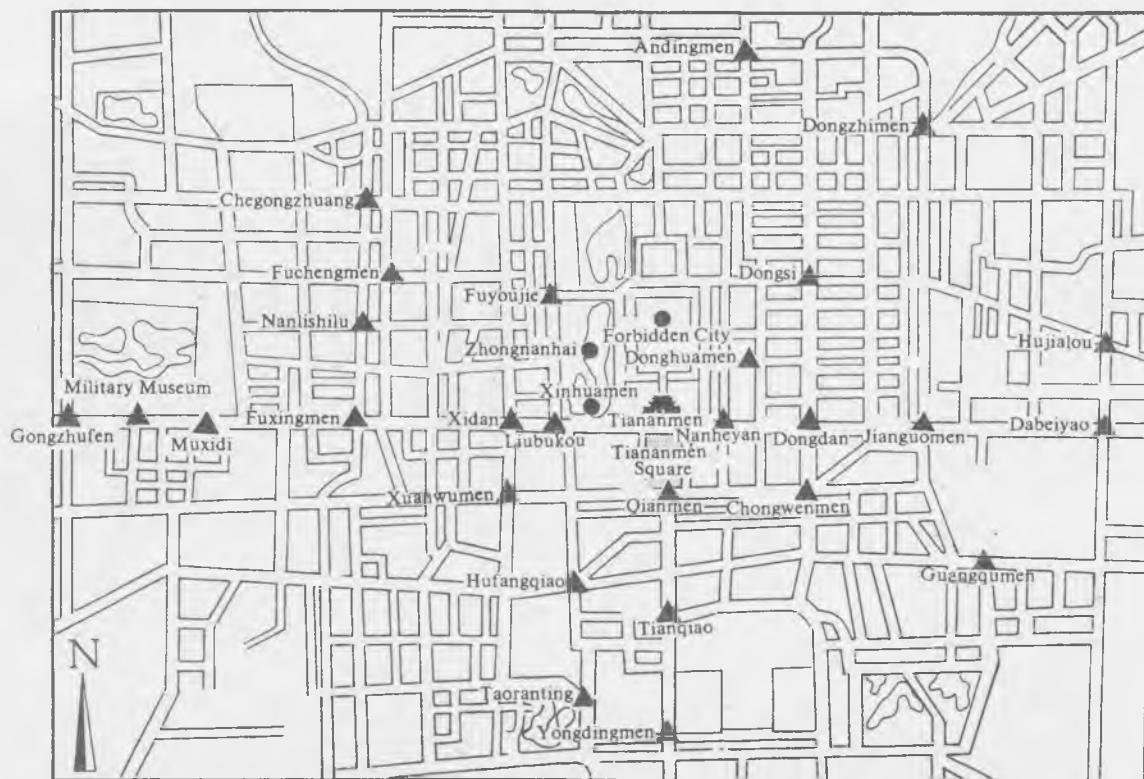
Sketch Map of Tiananmen Square and Chang'an Avenue



Sketch Map of Beijing Suburbs



Sketch Map of Beijing City Proper



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About the Author



Che Muqi is former editor-in-chief of People's China Press, which publishes a Japanese-language monthly magazine called *People's China*. He was born in Anhui Province in 1925, admitted to the Electricity Department at Shanghai Datong University in 1944 and sent to work in Hong Kong by the China Student Union in 1948. In 1949 he worked as an editor for *China Digest* and in 1950 he was transferred to *People's China*, where he served as editor and reporter. Among his works is the book *The Silk Road, Past and Present*, in Chinese, English, German and Japanese.

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